The Outlook

MAY 30, 1917

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE NATIONAL DRAFT

President Wilson, on May 18, issued a proclamation fixing June 5 as the date on which registration is to take place for the National army. Five hundred thousand men are to be drafted in the first contingent. It is expected that under the provision of the law about ten million will be registered. The men drawn will be divided into sixteen divisions, each of 28,000. They will be mobilized in sixteen concentration camps. At the same time that the President issued this proclamation he ordered that the National Guard be mobilized on various days between July 15 and August 5. There are now 60,000 Guardsmen in Federal service and more than 100,000 not in Federal service. The National Guard is to be expanded to a strength of 400,000.

Of more immediate importance was the announcement that General Pershing will be sent to France with a division of the regular army and a regiment of marines. Naturally, the time of sailing and the destination of this army are not to be announced; but it is expected that it will be sent as soon as possible. Major-General Pershing, who is to command this expedition, has had a distinguished career in the army. He was in command, it will be remembered, of the expeditionary force sent into Mexico, and, after General Funston's death, of all the troops on the Mexican frontier. General Pershing's work in the Philippines in the Moro campaign was such as to earn for him rapid promotion. He was jumped from the rank of captain to that of brigadier-general, and the promotion was justified by his subsequent achievements.

THE PRESIDENT DECLINES TO ACCEPT THE ROOSEVELT VOLUNTEERS

At the time at which the President announced that troops would be sent to France under General Pershing he also announced that he had decided to decline the volunteers which Mr. Roosevelt had offered to raise for service in France and whose acceptance had been authorized by Congress. In declining the Roosevelt divisions the President said:

> I shall not avail myself, at any rate at the present stage of the war, of the authorization conferred by the Act to organize volunteer divisions. To do so would seriously interfere with the carrying out of the chief and most immediately important purpose contemplated by this legislation, the prompt creation and early use of an effective army, and would contribute practically nothing to the effective strength of the armies now engaged against Germany.
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> I understand that the section of this Act which authorizes the creation of volunteer divisions in addition to the draft was added with a view to providing an independent command for Mr. Roosevelt and giving the military authority an opportunity to use his fine vigor and enthusiasm in recruiting forces. . . .
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> It would be very agreeable to me to pay Mr. Roosevelt this compliment and the Allies the compliment of sending to their aid one of our most distinguished public men, an ex-President who has rendered many conspicuous public services and proved his gallantry in many striking ways. Politically, too, it would no doubt have a very fine effect and make a profound impression. But this is not the time or the occasion for compliment or for any action not calculated to contribute to the immediate success of the war. The business now in hand is undramatic, practical, and of scientific definiteness and precision. I shall act with regard to it at every step and in every particular under expert and professional advice from both sides of the water. . . .
>
> The responsibility for the successful conduct of our own part in this great war rests upon me. I could not escape it if I would. I am too much interested in the cause we are fighting for to be interested in anything but success. The issues involved are too immense for me to take into consideration anything whatever except the best, most effective, most immediate means of military action. What these means are I know from the mouths of men who have seen war as it is now conducted, who have no illusions, and to whom grim war is a matter of business. I shall center my attention upon those means and let everything else wait.

MR. ROOSEVELT ON THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION

When he had learned of the President's decision, Mr. Roosevelt issued a statement which reads in part as follows:

> *To the Men who have Volunteered for Immediate Service in the Firing Line in the Divisions which Congress Authorized:*
>
> The President has announced that he will decline to permit these divisions to be organized or to permit me to have a command in connection with such a force. After consultation yesterday, personally or by wire, with some of the men who had volunteered to raise units, regiments, and battalions for the divisions, . . . it was decided unanimously that in view of the decision of the President the only course open to us is forthwith to disband and to abandon all further effort in connection with the divisions. . . .
>
> As good American citizens we loyally obey the decision of the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army and Navy. The men who have volunteered will now consider themselves absolved from all further connection with this movement. . . .
>
> We rejoice that a division composed of our fine regular soldiers and marines under so gallant and efficient a leader as General Pershing is to be sent abroad.

Concerning the President's interpretation of Mr. Roosevelt's motives and desires, the latter said:

> I wish respectfully to point out certain errors into which the President has been led in his announcement. He states that the purpose was to give me an "independent command." In my last letter to the Secretary of War I explicitly stated that if I were given permission to raise an army corps of two divisions to be put under the command of some general like Wood, Pershing, Barry, or Kuhn, I desired for myself only the position of junior among the eight brigade commanders. I would not have been "independent." I would have been in precisely the position of all the other brigade commanders except that I would have ranked after and been subordinate to the rest of them.
>
> The President alludes to our proposed action as one that would have an effect "politically," but not contributing to the "success of the war," and so representing a "policy of personal gratification of advantage." I wish respectfully but emphatically to deny that any political considerations whatever or any desire for personal gratification or advantage entered into our calculations. Our undivided purpose was to contribute effectively to the success of the war. I know nothing whatever of the politics of the immense majority of the men who came forward, and those whose politics I do know include as many Democrats as Republicans. My purpose was to enable the Government to use as invaluable the men who would not be reached under the selective draft who were fit for immediate service, and the great majority of whom would not otherwise be used at all.
>
> As above pointed out, all four divisions, if the War Department would equip them, would have been sent to the aid of our hard-pressed allies before the training of the selective draft army was even begun, and they would not have been put into the firing line until the French or British military authorities deemed them fit.

Whether the President used the word "politically" in the sense understood by Mr. Roosevelt or not, there can be no doubt that in offering his service Mr. Roosevelt had no desire to seek political advantage or to secure for himself a complimentary command. Moreover, an offer to help carry the flag into the trenches of France is not the kind which the average

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American cares to see dismissed on the ground that it is dramatic.

What is known to soldiers as "morale" is as important a factor in warfare as ammunition or guns. The contribution which Mr. Roosevelt and his volunteers would have made to our new armies would not have been merely one of so much man power but one of this indispensable element of morale.

Mr. Roosevelt points out that the President's further condemnation of his plan, because it involved the detachment of important officers from duties connected with the training of the new army, was at least not valid when the number of officers of the regular army to be used in the Pershing expedition is taken into consideration.

> The President says in effect that to comply with our offer would be mischievous from the military standpoint, and he adds that the regular officers whom I have asked to have associated with me are "some of the most effective officers of the regular army, who cannot possibly be spared" from the "duty of training regular troops." . . . As for my withdrawing them from the "much more pressing and necessary duty of training" the troops, I wish to point out that I had asked for about fifty regular officers, from lieutenant-colonels to second lieutenants, for the first division. This would be only about one-tenth of the number who will go with General Pershing's division, which the President announced is to be composed exclusively of regulars. Therefore the recent plan will take from "pressing and necessary duty" about ten times as many regular officers as would have been taken under our proposal. It has been stated that the regular officers are opposed to our plan. As a matter of fact, the "most effective" fighting officers have been eager to be connected with or to have under them the troops we proposed to raise.

If The Outlook is not mistaken, the time will come when the American people will be sorry that they lost the opportunity to employ the fine enthusiasm of those who are willing to offer to their Government more than the law demands.

GENERAL WOOD WELCOMED TO CHARLESTON

The welcome which General Leonard Wood received from the city of Charleston and the State of South Carolina upon his taking over of the command of the newly created Southeastern Department was a gratifying indication of the position which General Wood holds in the heart of America. In the new department, now under General Wood's command, it is reported that twelve of the training camps for the National Army are to be situated. If this report represents the final decision of the War Department, the welcome which Charleston gave to General Wood is a happy augury for the success of his labors in the South.

The ceremonies attending the reception of General Wood included a parade in which marched one-third of the white population of Charleston, and a dinner attended by the leading citizens of South Carolina at the Charleston Hotel. Governor Manning well expressed the views of his State in the following words:

> I need not say that I welcome General Wood and the members of his staff with joy. That is understood. But I am also grateful to see him here because he comes to Charleston to perform a service that is as broad and as long as is America.
>
> I welcome every occasion that he can possibly have to speak to the people of the State and make them realize that we are at war. General Wood has had the vision to see what was needed and in no uncertain manner has he stressed this thing. His words were timely and strong. God knows that I wish that his advice had only been more closely followed.

The Charleston "News and Courier," commenting upon the arrival of General Wood and the presentation of an American flag to him by the citizens of Charleston, says:

> The best man in the army to arouse the South has been sent here, and we believe that the reception which General Wood has had in this city and State will prove an earnest of his reception from the people of the South everywhere.
>
> It was, as he himself said, a significant thing that the survivors of the Confederate army should have been present on the stand at Marion Square yesterday, looking on with approval as the beautiful flag presented him by the people of Charleston for his headquarters was raised and spread its starry folds to the breeze. The heart of the South is in this righteous war, and Governor Manning spoke not for himself alone when he said that he knew of no man whom he would rather have lead his sons to battle than General Leonard Wood.

It is to be hoped that to General Wood will come an active opportunity of fulfilling Governor Manning's desire.

CONGRESS: DEFENSE

Congress has finally passed and the President has signed the Army Appropriation Bill, left over from the Sixty-fourth Congress. It makes appropriation for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.

Another and similar measure, the Army and Navy Deficiency Appropriation Bill, which has since passed both houses, carries the greatest amount ever voted in any bill, $3,342,000,000. As it passed the House it carried a much smaller amount, because it did not include the ship programme since specially urged by the Administration. This provides for three-quarters of a billion dollars to take over the country's ship-building facilities. The bill empowers the President (acting doubtless through General Goethals, manager of the Government's shipping corporation) to commandeer shipyards or plants in which ship materials are made, and to acquire foreign shipping under construction here. This will interest the Cunard Company, which has ordered many vessels in this country. Another important Senate amendment was that the Draft Bill's provisions should remain in force only four months after the war—a feature omitted from the Draft Bill itself. Still another interesting amendment raises the appropriation for the purchase of land for an aviation training camp from $150,000 to $350,000, though the total appropriation for the support of aviation at this station was left at $11,000,000. The largest single items of the defense legislation are for the pay of enlisted men pursuant to the increased pay schedules.

CONGRESS: PATRIOTISM AND POLITICS

The money to pay for all this and more is to be provided by borrowing and by taxation. In submitting to Congress its demand for $1,800,000,000 and its supplementary demand for over $400,000,000 more, the Secretary of the Treasury seems to be under the impression that for the first year's war expenses borrowing and taxation should bear the burden half and half. Two-thirds borrowing to one-third taxation would appear to many experts a juster proportion.

Confronted with the necessity of raising a great sum by taxation, the House Committee on Ways and Means, in apparent despair, submitted a bill which it acknowledged to be unscientific and which many competent men have adjudged unworkable. And yet, when, after consideration, various means have been suggested in debate on the bill in the House to solve some of the difficulties, as, for instance, the bank check stamp tax proposal, the sugar tax proposal, the cotton tax proposal, although each of these would have brought in many millions in annual revenue, we have seen such a scornful reception of them as to confirm the belief that Mr. Kitchin was not joking when he announced that taxes would be devised to fall in the main north of Mason and Dixon's Line.

How jealous the creators of this Revenue Bill are of any proposal to improve it was illustrated by their resort to a technicality to prevent amendments. The rule they invoked was intended to prevent amendments not germane to schedule-by-schedule tariff bills. Declaring that he himself had written the original rule, Representative Fitzgerald, of New York, remarked:

> The Democratic party for years had been complaining of the abuse of enacting revenue legislation in omnibus tariff bills. In the Sixty-second Congress that party proposed to undertake revenue legislation in bills dealing with single items of the tariff. The purpose of the rule was to make it impossible to complicate matters by offering amendments dealing with other subjects. . . . This amendment proposes an excise tax. . . . This is a bill to provide revenue for the war, and it contains revenue measures of every conceivable character. It includes excise taxes, tariff taxes, direct taxes, and taxes upon postal matter, which do not belong to the bill. . . . If this point of order be sustained,

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the House is absolutely powerless to consider numerous amendments designed to correct glaring abuses which this bill will establish.

But the point of order was sustained, despite the fact that the bill abounds in excise taxes, such as that proposed by the amendment in question. So the makers of this unscientific revenue bill are having their way in the House. They will, however, find themselves confronted with some independent thinkers in the Senate, where the bill will undoubtedly be overhauled.

It is hard to conceive of any reason why the Revenue Bill should not provide for a stamp tax on bank checks. Such a tax collects itself; it cannot be evaded; it causes a minimum of inconvenience; it is paid by those who can amply afford to pay it (for any one who can afford to draw a check for five dollars can afford to pay two cents for the privilege of doing so); and, as it proved during the Spanish-American War, it is a big producer of revenue.

The other chief measure before Congress is the Food Bill. It has gone through various changes. It was introduced and then withdrawn for amendment. It was introduced again, and again withdrawn. It now emerges more drastic than ever. The powers it proposes to grant to the President are unprecedented, and so are the appropriations it makes. It deserves the most serious consideration. In asking from Congress powers to regulate the distribution and consumption of food the President has announced that he would like to exercise these powers through the appointment of Mr. Herbert C. Hoover (the creator and director of the Commission for Belgian Relief) as Food Administrator.

CONTINUED OFFENSIVES AGAINST GERMANY

Despite the rumors and fears of the past few weeks that Germany might take advantage of the lack of military co-ordination in Russia to begin a tremendous offensive, very possibly directed at Riga and ultimately at Petrograd, such a movement has not come into view. On the contrary, the British and French continue their grim, slow, determined advance on the western front, while Italy's offensive, the beginning of which we have already noted, has grown in volume and intensity and has been noteworthy for the number of prisoners taken. At the end of the week May 16–23 a well-informed war critic, Colonel Repington, of the London "Times," writes:

> The Franco-British offensive, by attracting and absorbing the German reserves, has greatly aided Italy. Before this happened there certainly was danger of an important Austro-German combination against Italy, and, after the experience of last year, General Cadorna could not ignore this risk. But now so many German divisions have had "the stuffing knocked out of them" and so many more have been drawn from the reserves in opposing us that there is not much strength left for a fresh operation.

The Italian campaign in which the ultimate object of attack is Trieste has covered a wide range, from Tolmino southward to within twelve miles of Trieste. One immediate object is to straighten out the bend of the Italian line on the Isonzo River, and also to compel the Austrians to withdraw from valuable positions now occupied by them on the Carso Plateau and on the plain around Gorizia. At the end of the week the attack at various points on this thirty-five-mile front was reported from Rome to be assuming vast proportions. There were even reports that a considerable body of British troops were aiding the Italians, while it is well known that British artillery is being used on this front. All of General Cadorna's despatches have been encouraging, and he states that certain high points carried by the Italian line are of signal importance as commanding low country beyond.

Since the occupation of the whole of the town of Bullecourt by General Haig's forces, reported last week, the British have made gains to the north of that place, have broken through and occupied trenches belonging to the main German line of defense, and appear to be engaged in an enveloping movement against Queant, which is like a hinge or pivot between the so-called Wotan line and the southern part of the German main line, which is now called the Siegfried line.

Apart from actual gains, the week's work of the British was satisfactory in repelling, and in many cases partly destroying, German divisions hurled in counter-attacks over and over again against the British. London despatches say that Germany has withdrawn a large number of divisions, perhaps a quarter of a million men, from this front and sent them to the weaker Russian front to be re-formed, while stronger and comparatively new divisions from the eastern line are replacing them in the west.

The French have renewed their recent attacks in the Champagne district, and the fighting there, as we write, is very violent, with some valuable gains by the French and the taking of a large number of prisoners.

OTHER WAR NEWS

An important and plain-spoken address was made by the French Premier, M. Ribot, before the Chamber of Deputies on May 22. It had a direct bearing on the coming Socialist Congress in Stockholm and the position of the Russian Socialists as to annexation and indemnities, because M. Ribot positively held that the retaking of France's lost provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, must not for a moment be considered as annexation by France, and that compensation for German ravages and unlawful destruction in France would by no means be indemnity. The Russian contentions M. Ribot characterizes as "dangerous sophisms."

Elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook appears Staff Correspondence by Mr. George Kennan, entitled "The Menace of the Russian Workmen's Council." The recent news from Russia is here analyzed, and its meaning interpreted in the light of information which has recently reached Mr. Kennan from Russia. In this connection it is perhaps pertinent to announce that special articles will appear in The Outlook on the Russian situation from the pen of its staff correspondent, Mr. Gregory Mason, now in Europe, and in all probability already in Russia.

In New York City last week a jury in the United States District Court convicted Captain Franz von Rintelen, David Lamar, and H. B. Martin on the charge of attempting to prevent the shipment of munitions abroad by conspiring together contrary to the provisions of the United States statute relating to conspiracy against trade and commerce. They were sentenced to one year's imprisonment. The trial is significant because it has informed the public of the insidious and subtle plotting of a German officer, who was furnished with large sums of money by his Government for the purpose, in trying to utilize the sentiment of pacifists and the prejudices of some labor leaders, and even of the American Congress, in such a way as to hinder the perfectly legitimate commerce of this country in munitions of war, and thereby to aid Germany in a military sense.

A distressing incident of the week's war news was the death of two Red Cross nurses, Mrs. Edith Ayres and Miss Helen Wood, who were members of the Chicago Hospital Unit on its way to Europe on the steamship Mongolia. Fragments of a shell from a gun fired in practice work caused their death. The exact cause of the disaster is a mystery; one statement is that the shell was twenty years old and not suited to the more modern gun. A thorough investigation is promised and should be rigorously pushed.

The news of the safe arrival last week in France of Marshal Joffre and ex-Premier Viviani, after their visit to this country, was an occasion of relief to all Americans. Simultaneously there was published the announcement of the arrival here of all the Italian envoys, headed by Prince Ferdinand of Savoy, cousin of King Victor Emmanuel. The purpose of their visit is similar to that of the French and British envoys.

On May 23 it was reported that a detachment of United States Army Engineers had reached London.

AN AMERICAN QUEEN

Americans sometimes forget that within one of the Territories of the United States there lives a real ex-Queen who owes the loss of her crown to the activities of American missionaries.

This Queen is, of course, Liliuokalani, of Hawaii, dethroned in the revolution of 1893. She is now a frail old lady of nearly seventy-nine years, and few but her immediate household and

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closest friends ever have the opportunity of meeting and talking with her.

It is interesting to record that because of one of the tragedies of the present war this aged Queen has permitted for the first time an American flag to fly over her home. The news of this incident comes to us in a letter from a correspondent in Hawaii. This correspondent writes:

> It was my privilege a few days ago to attend what will possibly be the last public reception she will ever give to members of the Hawaiian Senate—some of her own race, and some sons of the missionaries who were mainly responsible for her overthrow. Although they belonged to a body absolutely democratic in form and elected by vote of the people as citizens of the United States, it was most interesting and somewhat touching to note the loyalty and love shown to the aged ex-Queen; almost, one could imagine, as if she were still their reigning sovereign.
>
> An incident of unusual interest took place just prior to the reception. Colonel Iaukea had told Liliuokalani of the sinking of the Aztec, resulting in the death of five Hawaiian sailors, and asked her if on that account she would like to raise the American flag over her home. She replied, most emphatically: "Yes. Have you a flag?" When he said, "No," an army officer who happened to be present offered to procure one. On its arrival the Queen went into the yard to watch the ceremony of raising the Stars and Stripes for the first time over Washington Place.
>
> Washington Place, the residence of Queen Liliuokalani, is the home once owned by the Queen's American husband, the late John A. Dominis. It stands well back from the street in surroundings of tropical luxuriance, a stately, white-pillared house, with long doors opening on the verandas, or, as they are known in the Hawaiian Islands, the *lanais*.

So there has been added to the list of those in official opposition to Germany our only American Queen. That this opposition should be symbolically expressed by the raising of the American flag is both interesting and gratifying.

IN HONOR OF MR. CHOATE

It is peculiarly fitting that Joseph Hodges Choate should have reached the summit of his life at a time when Americans were welcoming representatives of Great Britain. He had been not only an official Ambassador of the American Government to the Government of Great Britain, but also an ambassador of the spirit of America to the spirit of England. It is therefore correspondingly fitting to have the following tribute to the memory of Mr. Choate from one who, though not an official envoy to this country, has been for many years an ambassador of the British spirit to the spirit of America.

The Marquis of Aberdeen and Temair all true Americans have reason to count among their kindred, for all those are akin who have a common purpose and will. And only one who shares that aspiration for real democracy could write as Lord Aberdeen writes to The Outlook, as follows:

"The wave of feeling, deep, widespread, and sincere, which the sudden passing away of Joseph H. Choate had evoked, found a fitting and impressive consummation in the funeral service which was held in St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City, on Thursday morning, May 17.

"This was not, in an official sense, a public funeral; and it was therefore free from pomp and pageantry; but it was something very much more than the funeral of a private citizen or a member of any particular congregation. The people of this country, and more especially the people of this great city, had come to recognize in Mr. Choate a kind of National possession; while he, on his part, essentially and devotedly American, could also be claimed as a citizen of the world, an influence and symbol of internationalism, and most notably in the promotion of amity and mutual good will between the English-speaking peoples.

"The occasion clearly demanded a combination of dignity, simplicity, and sympathetic comprehensiveness; and right worthily were these requirements met and fulfilled by those responsible for the arrangements. The service, as a whole, constituted a kind of solemn requiem, breathing a spirit of resignation, but still more of calm trust and assurance; aye, and of triumph, which should surely be the keynote of the last offices for the righteous.

"The first sounds that met the ears of the great and silently waiting congregation were the soothing strains of Handel's 'Largo.' This was followed by the Funeral March from 'Saul,' which from generation to generation has never failed to sound forth the message of sorrow, of homage, and of sure and certain hope. In his rendering of this renowned composition the talented organist, Mr. Arthur Hyde, revealed his immunity from the restrictions of mere tradition and orthodoxy, for the swelling notes of triumph were not used as the *finale;* there was a recurrence once more to the expression of peace and calm, and then, in subdued and, as it were, far-off tones, suggesting an echo and refrain of 'the triumph song of heaven,' the exquisite air of 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.'

"One phase of the service to be especially remembered was the reading by the rector, Dr. Parks, of the appointed Scripture lesson, I Corinthians xv. 20–58. Surely those who listened must have gained some fresh sense of the noble beauty and force of St. Paul's inspired and matchless funeral oration.

"All the hymns selected were not only familiar, but peculiarly appropriate. They were 'O God, our Help;' 'The King of Love my Shepherd is;' 'God moves in a mysterious way,' sung to the fine old tune of 'Martyrdom,' especially familiar in Scotland and wherever Scottish folk are found (a comprehensive expression); and, as recessional, 'Rise, crowned with light.' It is of touching interest to learn from Dr. Parks that the hymns were chosen primarily because of their being those of which Mr. Choate was particularly fond. ABERDEEN."

A TASTE OF GENUINE OPÉRA COMIQUE

Some one once said of "musical comedy" as it is manufactured on Broadway that the success of any particular sample of it might be tested in this way: Put a dog in the front row, and if he barked violently throughout the performance it was the kind that would succeed. Those who are weary of all this hurly-burly and distraction, this "assault with intent to kill" on all the senses at once, of the Broadway school of art will welcome with delight Mr. Albert Reiss's recent attempt to present through the Society of American Singers which he has organized from his fellows of the Metropolitan Opera-House a better type of "musical comedy" that is really musical and genuine comedy.

The pieces selected for this two-week engagement at the Lyceum Theater in New York were "The Maid Mistress," by Pergolesi, originally produced in 1733 and of great historic interest; "The Night Bell," by Donizetti; Mozart's youthful "Bastien and Bastienne," and the more mature "Impresario;" and Gounod's "The Mock Doctor," based on Molière's delightful play "Le Médecin malgré lui."

Two scenes especially illustrated the possibilities of this kind of art, still so unfamiliar to Americans. One was that in "The Impresario," where two rival sopranos vie for the position of prima donna, while Mozart himself begs them to abate their quarreling, pleading, "Pianissimo, pianissimo, pianissimo!" The other is that in which the woodcutter mock doctor, with dog Latin and absurd physiology, explains to the father why his daughter has gone dumb. To the bewildered old man's protest against the assertion that the heart is on the right and the liver on the left—"he thought it was just the other way"—"Yes," says the doctor; "it used to be, but that's old. We've changed all that!" Both these scenes, carried out with neatly turned lines and music sparklingly melodious, and whenever necessary amusingly illustrative, exemplify a delightful kind of comedy, "the product," to use Mr. Reiss's own words, "of spontaneous good music and an amusing lyric libretto in English which is capable of presentation in an intimate atmosphere."

Mr. Reiss's good sense in using English translations and a small theater was amply proved. In spite of the failure of some of the singers to enunciate with sufficient clearness, the words were caught by the audience far more than could have been the case in a large auditorium, and enough to keep them keenly interested in the play of plot, character, and dialogue. And the music, especially Mozart's, profited by being played by the orchestra, for which it was written; Mozart's inimitable clearness and fullness of orchestral color was completely realized. The softest flute solo, the merest tap on a kettle-drum, "told" in the

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From the Buffalo Evening News

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY OUT AND THE SOONER WE QUIT LOOKING FOR SHORT CUTS THE BETTER

Raemaekers in Land and Water (London)

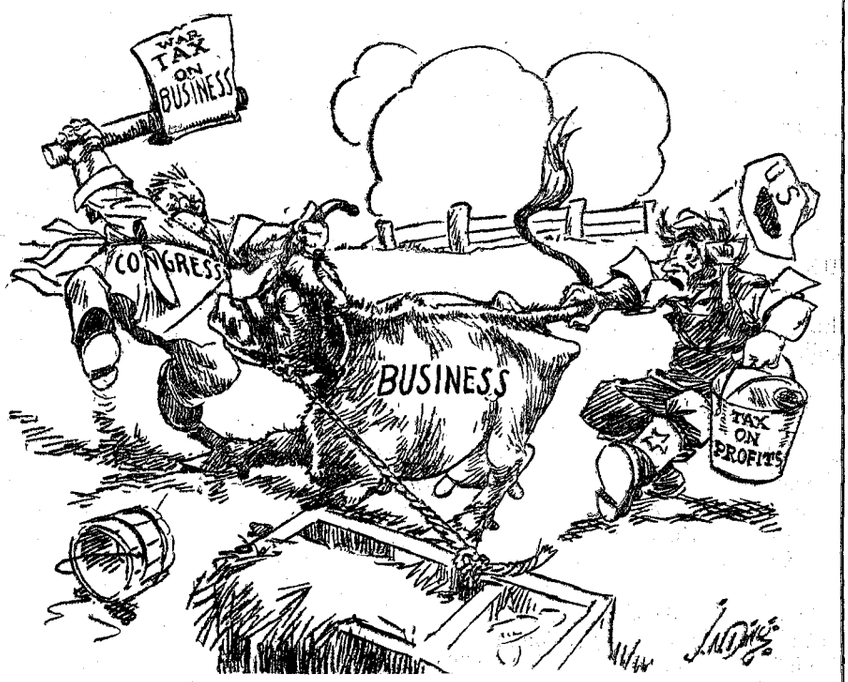
THE TWO GIANTS

Germany: "I destroy!"
America: "I create!"

Harding in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle

THIS IS THE "DOLLAR WORSHIPER"!

Darling in the New York Tribune



YOU CAN'T BUTCHER THE COW AND STILL HAVE HER GIVE MILK

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favorable space, and made one wish that one could hear oftener the music of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as it was intended by its composers to be played.

Mr. Reiss's experiment showed not only that there is a large body of charming opéra comique waiting to be presented to America, but that Americans are beginning to reach that stage of musical development in which they can appreciate it.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION WAR WORK

The prime object of the Young Men's Christian Association war work is to minister to the physical, social, moral, and religious welfare of enlisted men. The basic feature will be to preserve American manhood, and especially to guard as far as possible against a recurrence on this side of the Atlantic of certain distressing conditions which unfortunately obtained in the European camp before similar work was taken up.

To pay for this war work in army camps, naval stations, munition plants, and hospitals at least eleven hundred secretaries and $3,000,000 will be necessary. The experience of the Young Men's Christian Association in such activities during the Spanish-American War and along the border during the recent trouble with Mexico fits it more accurately than ever to gauge just what is now required in men and money.

It is proposed to erect about two hundred Association buildings in the army camps throughout the country, each building to serve a brigade and to have a staff of five secretaries. The buildings will provide large meeting-rooms for moving-picture entertainments and concerts, correspondence facilities, games, pianos, phonographs, and opportunities for educational classes. What is of special importance and should be made known as widely as possible is the announcement that these buildings will be available for Roman Catholic and Hebrew services as well as for services under the direction of Protestant chaplains.

The Young Men's Christian Association, although a voluntary civilian organization, has distinct official recognition. In 1902 a law was passed giving authority to the Secretary of War to grant permission to erect and maintain Association buildings on military reservations. In 1911 another Act of Congress authorized the furnishing of heat and light for the above-mentioned buildings. Again, General Orders No. 39 enjoined commanding officers to provide all proper facilities to aid the Association, to assign suitable sites, to supply transportation, to care for and police Association tents and grounds, and to furnish tentage for shelter; finally, to accord to secretaries the privilege of buying supplies from the quartermaster's department. On April 27 last President Wilson signed an executive order which reads in part:

> The Young Men's Christian Association has, in the present emergency, as under similar circumstances in the past, tendered its services for the benefit of enlisted men in both arms of the service .... In order to ... further the work of the organization ... official recognition is hereby given the Young Men's Christian Association.

HELP THE ARMENIANS AND SYRIANS

Owing to the $75,000,000 loan from our Government, the Belgian relief committees are discontinuing for six months all collections for relief purposes in Belgium.

Pending the resumption of the appeals of the Belgian committees, those persons who were pledged for monthly contributions to Belgian relief, and many other persons also, might well turn their contributions for humane purposes to the relief of the sufferers in Turkey. Certainly it would be most unfortunate to have any channels of beneficence run dry, especially when there is such a field for this benevolence as that of the saving of Christian men and women in Turkey, and of those who have fled from Turkey because of the war.

As long as the channels for helping the sufferers in Turkey are not closed, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief needs no less than $5,000,000 a month to provide for the 1,200,000 refugees in Russia, Persia, and the Levant; they are dependent for food and clothing upon immediate aid. An unusual proportion of them are widows with children. The Committee's facilities, we learn, for reaching the sufferers in Russia, Persia, the Bagdad region, and Egypt are excellent.

Surely the cause is as great as that for which the Belgian committees were created, and the need is no less urgent.

In this connection the question arises, What of the relief ship sent long ago to Alexandria? It was loaded with wheat, rice, sugar, oil, and other non-perishable foodstuffs. The cargo could be sold at any time at a considerable advance over what was paid for it originally, because of the rapidly rising values of all such foodstuffs. The cargo is still waiting for the opening of a port on the Syrian coast, in the expectation that the movement of the Egyptian army to the north through Palestine will soon open a way by land, so that the food may be landed at some port along the coast, perhaps as far north as Beirût.

Beirût would doubtless be a specially welcome port to all Americans, first, because of their keen interest in the Syrian Protestant College there with its million-dollar plant, whose progress as an outpost of American civilization has been so remarkable as to become incomparably the chief seat of learning in Syria. It is to be hoped that the college will not have to be closed and that any rumor to that effect may prove, as in the case of Robert College at Constantinople, misleading. Our second interest in Beirût is that it is the chief center for the American Presbyterian missions in Syria—Syria being allocated as a mission field to them; hence the only Presbyterian missionaries in the Turkish Empire are working in Syria. Deducting the number at home on furlough, there are now in that field thirty-two missionaries, twelve men and twenty women, besides a dozen children.

The Armenian and Syrian Committee emphatically denies the statement which appeared in the daily press of May 22, to the effect that since the severance of relations between the United States and Turkey large amounts of money contributed here for the relief of Armenians and Syrians have remained in the treasury of the Committee because there was no medium through which to transmit them. Of the sums raised by it, the total amount sent exceeds $3,000,000, of which about half has gone to the sufferers in Turkey, and the remainder to the refugees in Russia, Persia, and the Levant. The Committee, however, confirms the further press despatch that some neutral Government has consented to see that the funds reach their destinations and will be devoted to the objects for which they were contributed. The statement, however, should have read "Governments," not "Government."

WHOLE-GRAIN FLOUR

According to some authorities, we are facing the greatest food crisis since the Biblical days of famine. The world's food crop is short—very short. Hence the production and conservation of food comprise now one of the greatest civic duties in every country. It is so especially in ours, for we are called upon to feed not only ourselves but also our allies and the neutral nations.

The immediate duty before us is to increase production, particularly the production of wheat and flour. The United States Department of Agriculture has vigorously attacked the problem of increasing the production of wheat. As to flour, it is claimed that our country would increase the production by nearly 20,000,000 barrels a year if, instead of using 72 per cent of wheat, as at present, in white flour, 81 per cent were used; that is to say, if we utilized a larger amount of the wheat kernel by not removing in the milling process so much residual matter in the forms of what are known as shorts, middlings, and bran. If we did this, our white flour would become grayer.

Nor is this all. The gray flour would be more nutritious, it is contended, because carrying with it that desirable "roughage," of help to digestion. Not all persons, however, need whole-grain flour; for many better results are obtained by graduating flour in such mixtures as would be had from adding rye, rice, corn, or barley to wheat. Thus an increase of flour production may be accomplished along these lines.

It should not be forgotten, however, that because of its higher percentage of moisture, whole wheat flour does not "keep" readily.

At all events, we may safely assume that there is no

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waste in the use of the contents of the wheat berry, for the parts not consumed by man are used as fodder for domestic animals. Of course, if there comes a pinch in this country, and either man or animals must suffer, then it will be the animals, and we shall eat some of the shorts and bran that are, in general, better suited to the ruminant's alimentary canal than to our own. Such a plan would reduce the amount of cattle and poultry products by just the extent to which it was carried out; and would make the present high prices for milk and eggs proportionately higher.

For wheat and flour unprecedented prices now obtain. They are due to at least two causes. One is the hoarding of wheat in the belief that the world's wheat supply within a year will be exhausted. Many men, however, who ought to know do not believe that this will be true, and deem the present popular condition of mind simple hysteria. The other, and more immediately effectual, cause of high prices is that three times the amount of flour usually in transit on the railways is to-day scattered on side-tracks in railway yards between the mills and the warehouses and that therefore there is a scarcity of flour on the market.

But Canada and this country both have considerable supplies. Fortunately, for some weeks we have had free trade with Canada in wheat and flour, and the Canadian reserves are thus at our service. The wheat reserves turn out to be larger than was supposed, namely, some 100,000,000 bushels. So far as we know, our own country can spare from 30,000,000 to 50,000,000 bushels more.

TWO CITY BOND STORES

In at least two cities of the country an interesting theory is being tested. It can be stated by a question, Will the people of a city themselves, if given the opportunity, finance its needs?

When Chicago decided to sell bonds directly to the public, the best bid obtainable for 4 per cent bonds was 97. That is to say, dealers felt justified in offering only $970 for the promise of the city to pay back $1,000. In order to complete certain necessary improvements promptly, Chicago wanted to borrow $3,800,000. Rather than accept 97 the city Comptroller decided to offer the bond issue to the people of Chicago directly. Bonds were engraved in denominations of $100, $500, and $1,000.

A slow but steady inflow of buyers began, and a surprising fact was developed—there were more demands for $500 and $1,000 pieces than for the $100 units. Also a number of regular customers were unearthed; one man came once a month for twenty months and each time took away a $100 bond. Hoarded money, smelling of the earth out of which it had been exhumed, was frequently shoved through the window.

Sales increased until the proceeds were sufficient to care for the city's current needs. Market prices for sound 4 per cent city bonds rose, and big investors—those requiring $10,000 or more of bonds—began coming to the store in numbers. In order to limit the inflow of money single purchasers were restricted to $1,000.

The unconditional offer was made to buyers to redeem purchased bonds at any time, at face value, plus interest at 4 per cent since the date of the last interest payment.

In the eleven months from January 1, 1916, to December 1, $5,230,000 of bonds were sold over the counter; December sales ran the total for 1916 close to $7,000,000. The old practice of selling tax warrants to pay for current city needs while the city had millions on deposit at 2 per cent with the banks was stopped.

In the same period of slack demand for municipal bonds the city of St. Paul started a bond store on a somewhat different basis. Its Department of Finance agreed to take deposits in amounts of $10 and multiples of $10, and issue receipts in the form of "participation certificates" at 4 per cent.

"This system," reports the Commissioner of Finance, "has enabled the small saver to build up a bank account and receive interest on it while it is accumulating. It also serves for some people to gather together money to pay for local improvements that are assessed against property. It has placed our securities at the top so far as values are concerned. When we started this business, it was impossible for us to sell 4½ per cent city bonds at par; now our bonds sell on about a 3.80 per cent basis."

St. Paul's bond store has had its troubles. On the 1st of April, 1916, the Grand Jury voted lack of confidence on the theory that its methods were illegal. Its report disturbed the minds of depositors, and a run on the bank followed. One day $250,000 was paid out; every day in April and up to May 2, with one exception, showed a balance in red figures as between deposits and withdrawals. In the twenty-six business days during which the run lasted a total of $961,000 was drawn out.

At the time of the Grand Jury's action the Commissioner of Finance prepared an amendment to the City Charter to be voted upon at the election of May 2. Almost three-fourths of St. Paul's voters came out for the amendment.

"With such a vote of confidence," the Commissioner recently said, "it was natural that after the election our deposits should increase. In less than one year they rose from about $1,000,000 to $2,285,000."

So the two stores have been established to confirm the theory that under varying conditions a city that needs to borrow money can get it from its own people at a steady and reasonable cost.

Another important fact has been revealed by the experiments. It is possible to interest the ten-dollar investor, as well as the ten-thousand-dollar investor, in the safest of all securities—municipal bonds—when a common-sense method of selling them is devised.

THE RAJAH OF SARAWAK

The death is announced of Sir Charles Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak. He was eighty-eight years old.

Sarawak is one of the three British states of Borneo, the rest of the island being Dutch. Sir Charles Brooke was the second British Rajah. The first was his uncle, Sir James Brooke, the son of an English officer long resident in India. In 1838 James Brooke, with a picked crew, went to the assistance of the Rajah of Sarawak, who was besieged by rebel head-hunters, rescued him, and succeeded him in power. Brooke introduced humaner modes of dealing with his degraded subjects, attacked the prevailing piracy, and prepared a code of laws. In all this his lieutenant was his nephew Charles. When Chinese pirates burned the Rajah's palace, James Brooke escaped only by swimming a river in the dark. Meanwhile the nephew had rallied a few loyal natives; at the head of these James Brooke put himself, and annihilated the Chinese.

When Sir James died, in 1868, Charles Brooke succeeded to the work of organizing the realm. He was an absolute monarch, though under British suzerainty. His rule was the picturesque one of having as its agents native chiefs and British civil service officials. The militia force, of which he was the commander, might be naked, but it was armed with Enfield rifles and machine guns. Sir Charles brought law and order to the country and developed it so that it now has a considerable foreign trade, chiefly in pepper and gold.

The third British Rajah of Sarawak is to be the son of Sir Charles Brooke, Charles Vyner Brooke, who, like his father, has long borne a leading part in the government. It would thus seem that the Brookes have constituted for themselves some title to be considered among reigning families.

THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH

It is a far cry from Pennsylvania to Babylonia. One of the Babylonian literary remains, known as the Epic of Gilgamesh, has, however, become the means of connection between the two.

The epic is so called from the chief personage in the story. A barbarous man, Gilgamesh, a half-mythical king, part god and part human, came from Elam, to the east of Babylonia, and now a part of Persia. Its people entered Babylonia about the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C. and conquered the Euphrates Valley. The Gilgamesh epic covered twelve tablets, or fragments, describing the rule of Gilgamesh at the city of Erech (about one hundred and forty miles southeast of Bagdad). Erech is mentioned in Genesis x. as the home of Nimrod; Gilgamesh and Nimrod may have been the same. He ruled cruelly, and the people asked the gods for relief. So Arura, the mother goddess,

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made a primeval man, Enkidu, strong enough to oppose Gilgamesh. A woman's devotion changed Enkidu; arriving at Erech, he became Gilgamesh's rival, and later his friend, through whom Gilgamesh forsook his evil ways.

The epic of Gilgamesh is placed commonly in the twenty-second century B.C. By this is meant the completion of the epic, some of its component parts being much earlier. An essential part of the work belongs to the period of the struggle of Babylonia in general and Erech in particular against Elam. This dates it about the time of Abraham.

The first discoveries of it were made by George Smith, the English archæologist, at Nineveh, over forty years ago, and the fragments published by him were from the library of Ashurbanipal, of the seventh century B.C. A tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania may have been written anywhere between 600 B.C. and 300 B.C. Dr. Stephen Langdon, curator of the Babylonian section of the University Museum, has just translated the tablet. It was found to contain some new material bearing on the whole epic and also to supply missing data.

In one of the other tablets the Babylonian story of the flood was found. Of this, however, the Sumerian tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania also give accounts. They were written perhaps twelve hundred years before the oldest existing tablet of the Gilgamesh epic. Though these tablets are of much greater age than the tablet just translated, it does not follow that their text is earlier; for the text of tablets of lesser age was presumably translated from the Sumerian, the language of the civilization which preceded the Babylonian.

RECLAMATION WORK IN INDIA AND AMERICA

It is announced that the mammoth artificial lake of Marikanave has now been completed in the state of Mysore, India—a state about twice as large as Maryland. The lake is eighteen miles long and has an area of thirty square miles. Its function is to irrigate a tract of land which, compared with other parts of the state, is barren. It is interesting to note, however, that the people for whose benefit the lake has been constructed are superstitious. They think that when the particular goddess of the region discovers that this interference with nature has insulted her she will burst the dam.

The completion of this lake calls attention to the general reclamation work in India. It includes the greatest irrigation canal in the world, one having over three hundred miles of main line and thousands of miles of channels, and irrigating some 2,200,000 acres of arid land. These canals and the lake have cost about $37,000,000, not counting indirect charges, which may amount to about as much again. The gross area irrigated in India is larger than that in this country, and the cost has been less per acre because of lower labor costs.

When one considers the proportionate areas represented in India and our own country, the Indian reclamation work shows a surprising progress in area as compared with ours, the total cost of development being about the same in each country, although in India the utilization of the plethora of water on the west for the irrigation of the land on the east has involved the carrying of the supply across two great rivers and across numerous formidable hill torrents. The comparison we make between irrigation in India and in this country applies chiefly to Government work. In addition, especially in this country, much irrigation has been accomplished by small individual ditches involving comparatively simple construction work, and often done by the farmers themselves—work relatively cheap per acre.

Our great irrigation projects, as initiated by the United States Reclamation Service, commonly require storage works to make the flood flow available, as well as heavy canal construction to reach areas farther down the streams. Of course such works cost a good deal per acre. To-day our whole irrigation area has reached some fifteen million acres, the projects of the Government Reclamation Service now completed and under way embracing about three million acres, of which over half can be served with water. Approximately a million acres have actually been irrigated. On these Government projects the charge against the land for construction averages about $50 an acre.

THE IRISH PROBLEM: THE DAWN OF A BETTER DAY

ONE generation sins, another generation pays the penalty. This commonplace of history the Irish problem of to-day tragically illustrates. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England sowed the seeds of injustice. Now in the time of its distress it is reaping the harvest from its own sowing.

There are no more sectarian Roman Catholics than those in the south of Ireland. There are no more sectarian Protestants than those in the north of Ireland. The bitter religious animosities which have largely disappeared from the rest of Christendom survive in Ireland. The Roman Catholics are in a majority. Home Rule unaccompanied with guarantees would put the Protestant population of Ireland under the political control of the Roman Catholics. The refusal of Home Rule leaves the Roman Catholic population of Ireland under the political control of the Protestants of England, Scotland, and Wales. If the Government grants Home Rule, it is threatened with armed revolt by the north of Ireland. If it refuses Home Rule, it is threatened with armed revolt by the south of Ireland. This is the Irish question stated in its baldest fashion and its broadest terms. If we were to add an account of the various agrarian and industrial problems and the various Irish factions which further complicate the problem, our readers would lay down our description in despair.

Fifty years ago Mr. Gladstone made a courageous attempt to remove one cause of Irish discontent. He succeeded in persuading the English people to abolish the Established Church in Ireland and withdraw state endowments from all religious communions in that island. Thereafter the Irish Roman Catholics were not required to give support to a religious establishment which they bitterly condemned. Other measures were attempted by Mr. Gladstone, some with, some without, success. All had for their object the remedy of political injustice, the amelioration of distress, and the removal of grounds of public discontent. But they were all alike in this: they were proposals framed in England and proposed to Ireland. They asked the Irish, Will this satisfy you? None of them said to the Irish, Tell us what you want. In this fundamental respect Mr. Lloyd George's proposal differs radically from any that has ever before been made in the history of the Irish problem. He invites the Irish to meet in a convention containing representatives of all factions, all classes, and all religious faiths, debate their problem among themselves, reach their own conclusion, and tell England what they want. His statement to the House of Commons, as reported in the cable despatches in our daily papers, is as follows:

> Mr. Lloyd George said one thing had tended to cause the failure of efforts to arrive at a settlement—that the proposals had emanated from a British Government. The present Government, therefore, had decided to invite Irishmen themselves to put forward their proposals. Hitherto Great Britain had undertaken all the construction and Ireland all the criticism. Once Irishmen were confronted with the problem, they would give due weight to the obstacles and difficulties. The Government proposed that Ireland should try her own hand at framing a plan. This method, he said, had succeeded in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, and he could not help thinking that what had been accomplished there could be achieved in Ireland.
>
> The Government therefore proposed to summon immediately on behalf of the Crown a convention of Irishmen in Ireland to submit to the British Government and Parliament a constitution for the government of Ireland within the Empire. The parties which entered the convention would be pledged to no conclusion, but every man who entered would be pledged to do his best to settle the controversy. No proposal would be shut out from consideration and no one who participated would be committed as to the character and scope of the constitution to be framed for the future government of Ireland within the Empire. The Government would accept the responsibility for taking the necessary steps to make it possible to give legislative effect to the conclusions of the convention.

John Redmond, speaking for the great body of those who desire a large measure of self-government for Ireland, followed Mr. George, and "the House cheered him heartily as he signi-

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fied the readiness of the Nationalist party to do all in its power to bring about a settlement which, for the first time in its history, Ireland had been asked to undertake herself." Sir Edward Carson, the most distinguished representative of the north of Ireland Protestants, in a cautious speech following Mr. Redmond, refused to commit his party, but indicated his own favorable regard for it in the following sentence: "If every one entered the convention with freedom and an honest desire to do his best for the country and the Empire, it might be successful, while on any other terms it would certainly fail." The Sinn Feiners, who are the irreconcilables of Ireland and demand its secession from the British Empire and its creation as an independent nation, are apparently divided in sentiment. Earlier reports represented them as refusing; later reports represent them as approving. Probably the more radical members of this faction, those less influential but more noisy, are disinclined to enter a convention which by the language of the summons is to consider plans for the government of Ireland "*within the Empire.*"

The convention is to be held behind closed doors—a wise provision which will do something to obviate the irresponsible and vague spoutings which prevented the French Revolutionary Assembly from being a true deliberative body. The chairman is to be appointed by the Crown, which will prevent a factional contest at the opening of the convention. It may be assumed that he will be, not, like the Speaker of our House of Representatives, a party leader; but, like the Speaker of the British House of Commons, a judicial officer free from party alliances and party prejudices. And the convention will contain representatives not only of all Irish factions, including the Sinn Feiners, but also of the "local governing bodies, the churches, the trade unions, and the commercial and educational interests." How this broad representation is to be secured Lloyd George has not said.

Whatever the immediate result of Lloyd George's proposal, it is that of a statesman. Whether it succeeds or fails, the result will be valuable.

If the Irish should refuse to constitute such a convention, or if the convention should dissolve without reaching any conclusion, the Irish people would have demonstrated their inability at present to conduct successfully the experiment of self-government. If they cannot agree on a basis of co-operative political action, they certainly cannot agree in carrying on co-operative political action. England would be justified by the civilized world in re-undertaking the task of governing a people who had been given the opportunity to govern themselves and had abandoned the task.

If the convention should succeed in framing an Irish constitution and the irreconcilables should either refuse to enter the convention or, on entering, should refuse to co-operate with the majority, they would discredit themselves in the eyes of the Irish people. If "nothing succeeds like success," it is also true that nothing fails like failure. The Irish orator who easily wins the applause of the unthinking by criticising England would not find it equally easy to win applause by attacking Ireland. The mere fact that a proposal framed by Ireland had been accepted by England would go far toward settling the Irish question, even if the settlement were not altogether wise.

Two difficult problems will confront this Irish convention if it meets. Their solution will require a sincere spirit of conciliation and compromise in the convention as well as an understanding of fundamental political principles. To succeed, the convention must—

Protect by its constitution the civil and religious rights of the minority against possible peril from an omnipotent majority;

And secure local self-government for Ireland without impairing the unity or weakening the authority of the Central Government on all matters which concern the welfare and the honor of the Empire.

It is permitted to hope that the Irish constitutional convention will be organized and that its organization will create in the Irish leaders that sobering sense of responsibility which power generally inspires in men of ability and character. It is not possible to prophesy; but it is permitted to hope that this convention will bring the dawn of a better day for Ireland and its warm-hearted people.

PERIODICALS AND THE POSTAL RATES

By its action last week the House of Representatives has indorsed the proposal of its Committee on Ways and Means to apply the zone system to postage on second-class mail matter. It has postponed for a few months the full application of the rates proposed, but it has accepted the principle. This brief delay would not prevent widespread ruin among periodical publications; but even if it did, the chief objection to the provision would remain. To apportion the rate of postage on periodicals and newspapers according to the distance transported in the mails is to strike at the root of National opinion and National feeling.

Most of our readers apparently understand the National aspect of this proposal. They realize that it would tend to restrict the circulation of periodicals and newspapers within prescribed areas, and would put out of existence altogether many periodicals of National circulation.

Some of our readers, however, it is evident from letters we have received, do not understand the facts or their significance.

There are two points which are, apparently, in some minds, subject to misunderstanding:

1. It is mistakenly assumed that the postal provision is a measure of taxation. On this assumption some readers have expressed their regret that publishers of magazines and newspapers have objected to bearing their share of the tax burden.

The proposed increase in postal rates is not taxation; and it is therefore not against their share of the taxes that periodicals and newspapers have protested.

In common with other periodicals, The Outlook has expressly stated to the Government that it will cheerfully yield any portion of its net income in the form of taxation up to one hundred per cent. If the Government thinks it is wise, desirable, and just to take all the profits of any legitimate and useful industry during the war, these periodicals, including The Outlook, ask the Government to take theirs. No concern can pay more than it possesses. We are willing to pay not only our share of the taxes, but as much more than our share as the Government may demand and as we have resources to pay. In this The Outlook is not exceptional.

What is proposed, however, in the postal provision of the House of Representatives is to lay upon the periodical press annual charges exceeding in every case of which we have knowledge the annual net income. In many, if not most, of the cases, these annual charges would amount to several times the annual net income. In other words, by this provision the Government would demand each year a sum of money two, three, four, or more times as much as the sum by which the annual gross income exceeds the annual expenditure. This is virtually a sentence to bankruptcy and extinction. It is, of course, not taxation.

2. It is assumed that postal rates can be determined by cost of transportation.

Even if it were possible, it would not be desirable to base rates for the transportation of any class of goods upon the estimated cost for its transportation. This is well understood in determining freight charges. If costs of transportation were ascertainable and charges were made accordingly, people would go hungry for lack of food and cold for lack of fuel and yet have plenty of luxuries. It is not a good rule to charge all that the traffic will bear, but it certainly *is* a good rule not to charge what the traffic will not bear. No rate for the transportation of any legitimate article should be so heavy as to prevent its transportation. The only relation between cost and charges for transportation in the case of railways—and as far as possible in the case of the Post-Office—should be that the total charges for the transportation of all classes of goods should cover the total cost for the transportation of all those classes of goods. Transportation is so complicated, and the charges for it affect the circulation of goods to such a degree, that it is unwise, unbusinesslike, and highly imprudent to ignore the fact that excluding one article from transportation may affect ruinously transportation of other articles. For example, shutting off newspapers and periodicals from circulation through the mails would seriously reduce the circulation of first-class mail matter, to the injury of the revenue of the Post-Office. The revenue credited to first-class matter is largely due to second-class matter. This holds good equally with freight charges. To cut off transporta-

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tion of necessities which pay low freight charges would be to cut off individual incomes which create the demand for other classes of goods that pay high freight charges.

The postal provision as proposed by the Ways and Means Committee is thus defensible neither as taxes nor as rates for transportation.

The most serious objection, however, to the postal provision as adopted by the House of Representatives lies in the method by which those charges are calculated, namely, the zone system.

To say to the periodicals, "You shall not circulate beyond a limited area except under penalty, and the more widely you circulate, the more National your influence, the heavier the penalty," is to promote sectionalism.

What the effect would be of such a penalty laid on periodicals by the Government was well put recently by a college teacher of English, Professor Linn, of Chicago University, in a statement to the Senate Committee on Finance. In concluding this statement (which is published in full in the "Independent" for May 26) Professor Linn said:

> You say these newspapers and magazines would not be destroyed by these proposed new laws? You know what would happen—you know that the prices to subscribers would rise, and circulation would narrow—and just who would lose out? Why, just exactly the people who must have the reading habit if this is going to be a democratic nation—the small town people, the country people. These publications are printed in big cities; the first zone, the cheapest zone, would be in and near those cities. That means you have shut off education just where it is most needed. The cities will read, anyway; there are many educational opportunities in the cities; but the small towns and the rural districts depend to a large extent on newspapers and magazines. You shut out those boys and girls, those men and women, from the reading habit. You shut them out from the freest possible circulation of ideas, just at the time when that freest possible circulation is most essential. I say, as a college teacher, a man who has been in the educational profession almost a generation, that, in my judgment, you could hardly stab nearer the heart of the Nation than by stabbing at the country circulation of newspapers and magazines; and yet that is exactly where this increase in second-class postal rates, this zone system, is directing the knife.

At this time, when the National Administration is appealing to the patriotism of the whole people to accept cheerfully service in the Nation's armies, to put energy into the production of the Nation's food, and to invest savings in the Nation's bonds, the National Government should not attempt to destroy, but should attempt to use, the instruments by which public opinion, public feeling, public conscience, in America can be kept National.

The newspapers and periodicals have freely offered their services to the Government. They are eager to serve the Nation. They ask for no profits. But for the sake of the Nation, for its unity, for the co-operation of its people, for the clarifying of its common purpose and will, these newspapers and periodicals simply ask that the Government allow them to survive and to render all the service of which they are capable.

SELF-INTEREST AND PATRIOTISM

In this issue Mr. Price presents, from the standpoint of practical patriotism, the advantages to be found in investing in the new Liberty Loan. To subscribe to the Liberty Loan because of practical patriotism does not mean that one should fail to take into account the large element of ideal patriotism involved in supporting our Government by money at the present time.

Patriotism Mr. Price defines as "enlightened self-interest"—a definition we will accept only if we may also be permitted to define "self-interest."

The self-interest of the individual is the preservation and protection of every movement which looks towards the attainment of an ideal social organization.

It is the interest of the eye in the welfare of the heart.

It is the interest of the man in the future of his family.

It is the interest of the family in the future of the nation.

It is the interest of the nation in the development of a world-wide dependence upon honor and fair dealing in all international relations.

And it is not selfish interest but the interest of the man, the family, and the nation in the welfare of the world—in the rule of law and in the right of men to freedom—that should prompt every American who can to subscribe to the Liberty Loan.

THE SPIRITUAL GLORY OF THIS DAY

It is a singular and significant fact that, with the single exception of the Hebrew Psalter, the book in the Bible which contains the greatest chorals of jubilant praise is the book written in the darkest period of the world's history and the darkest hour of the Christian Church. It is the Book of Revelation.

The degradation of Rome in the last third of the first century is literally indescribable. We could not sully our pages with a true picture of that time. It is painted in colors none too dark in "Quo Vadis." The Government of the United States in the twentieth century is one of spotless purity compared with that of Rome in the first century. The extremes of extravagant wealth and direst poverty equaled, if they did not exceed, any known to-day. The wretchedness of the tenement-house population of Naples is not so sordid and lifeless as was the tenement-house population of the ancient world capital. Poverty was not then, as now, relieved by any generous spirit of humanity. Institutions of charity were almost wholly unknown. Seriousness of purpose hardly existed in society outside of a small and uninfluential coterie of Stoics. Life was regarded as a game, and a brutal game at that. The Emperor of Rome, Nero, was a moral degenerate. Renan charitably interprets his extraordinary career as that of a lunatic. Whether he instigated the burning of Rome or not, he unquestionably gloried in it as a splendid fiery spectacle. Whether the legend that he fiddled while Rome was burning is true or not, there is good authority for the statement that he played and sang to the music of the crackling flames. To escape the indignation of the people he charged the crime of incendiarism to the Christian Church.

Such, briefly and quite inadequately portrayed, was the age which gave birth to the Book of Revelation.

John, in this tragical hour, looking forward, beheld the time when a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, would be gathered before the throne of God, giving "blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, . . . unto our God for ever and ever." It was to this book that Handel went for the words of what is perhaps the greatest, and certainly the best-known, praise choral in the history of music—"Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth."

If the reader would conceive the spirit of this apostolic author, let him imagine a great congregation of Belgians gathered in one of their half-demolished cathedrals, and there singing as the expression of their faith the "Hallelujah Chorus."

This spirit of rejoicing John connected with the era of tragedy through which the Church was passing. Those who constituted the great multitude which no man can number were those who had come out of great tribulation and made their robes "white in the blood of the Lamb." To the literalist this figure must seem strangely incongruous. To him who is not a literalist it is singularly inspirational. This great number had not merely listened with docility to the teaching of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount; they had not merely followed him in his life of doing good to the poor, the ignorant, the disheartened, and the suffering; they had shared with him in his life and death of self-sacrifice. This was their glory. In this unselfish suffering for others they reached the very climax of the Christian life. "He laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren;" in this sentence John has interpreted not only the strange antitheses of the Book of Revelation, but the still greater antitheses of the tragedy of life.

It were well for the American people if the American Church, imbued with the spirit of John, could interpret the life of the twentieth century as John interpreted the life of the first century. Alas! there are many who can see nothing but the deluge of blood and hear nothing but the chorus of the cannon. Their eyes are so dimmed and their ears so deafened by the earthly aspects of the tragedy that they have neither eyes to see nor ears to hear the glory of this hour of self-denial. They see the patients in the hospitals, but not the nurses. They feel the

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physical pains of the men in the trenches, but not the patriotism which animates them. They can imagine wrath and bitterness, but they cannot imagine the self-sacrificing devotion to a great ideal. Like Bunyan's Christian, they can hear in the valley of the shadow of death the voices of the devils on either side of them; unlike him, they cannot hear the voice of hope calling them to go forward with the words, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me."

Has there ever been a year in the Christian era more glorious with the glory of self-sacrifice than this year? Belgium might have preserved her land comparatively undesolated, her cathedrals uninjured, probably her homes unharmed, had she been willing to disregard her honor and violate her plighted word. Great Britain, it is said, would not have enlisted in this war had her safety not required her to do so. Perhaps. But it is certain that she would not have enlisted in this war if her national honor had not required her enlistment. Her colonials from Canada, Australia, and India are fighting not for themselves, not even for their mother country; they are fighting for their ideal of personal liberty, to which England stands pledged alike by her political Constitution and her age-long history.

And America? She is submitting herself to an unparalleled rate of taxation that she may loan three thousand million dollars to nations which have impoverished themselves for that ideal. Thousands of engineers are, as we write, surrendering their salaries, abandoning their hopes of civil preferment, and leaving their homes and their loved ones that they may go abroad to build railways on which they will never travel and for which they will never receive recompense. American statesmen, inheriting the traditions of liberty and well schooled in its lessons, are offering to hazard their lives in a trip across a pirate-infested ocean that they may carry to the newly born Republic of Russia the teachings of America's century of experience. Two hundred thousand men are eager to hazard their lives for their kinsfolk, not in blood but in ideals, on the other side of the ocean, provided they can go under a leader of their choice. And still others are offering themselves; and fathers and mothers, in whose hearts pride and grief battle for the mastery, are giving their sons to the service, not of their own country, but of other countries which will reap the sacrifice that they sow with their hands and water with their blood.

Christianity a failure? Never has it been so great a success. Never before has so great a multitude of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues been eager to lay down their lives for their fellow-men. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries heroes engaged in a crusade to recover for Christendom the tomb in which the body of Jesus was buried. In the twentieth century greater heroes are engaged in a crusade to make a world in which the spirit of Christ may live.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

THE PERNICIOUS HABIT OF SELF-EXAMINATION

> Why, with all my heart agonizing to do so, can't I make myself have faith and belief? . . . When I start to read the Creed that begins, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth," I have to stop and ask myself, Do I believe this? And I can't say, "Yes," only I do so want to!

IF you were called to see a patient and found that she had a clinical thermometer and was taking her temperature four or five times a day, that she was in the habit of measuring her pulse-beats at the same time, that she was studying the chemistry of foods and after every meal examined her symptoms to see whether she had eaten the right number of calories, what would be your first advice? Would it not be to throw away her clinical thermometer, stop feeling her pulse, eat what she enjoyed or what you recommended to her, forget herself and her symptoms—in short, stop the pernicious habit of self-examination?

There is spiritual hypochondria as truly as physical hypochondria, and the cause of both is the same—the habit of self-examination.

I once thought that it was my business to make myself over. I took Jesus Christ as my model, imagined myself to be a mass of sculptor's clay and tried to model myself according to the copy set me. It was a mistake. I discovered that either I was pleased with my work—that means self conceit—or dissatisfied with my work—that means discouragement. The first made me dangerously happy, the second made me dangerously miserable. Long ago I gave up this copy-work, and for self-examination substituted the prayer: Search me, O God, and know me, and see if there be any evil way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.

It is for you to make your patients over, it is for them to do what you tell them to do. If all patients would act accordingly, it would make your profession much easier, would it not? It is God's business to make you over. Leave that to him. It is your business to do with fidelity and efficiency the work he has given you to do. It is God's business to fit his workmen for their job. If we neglect our business and try to do his business, we always make a miserable mess of it. Test your *work* as much as you please, but not yourself. He will examine you, and he will take you to the places and bring you into the experiences he judges best for you.

You say, "I have confessed all my sins and am keeping God's commandments and trying to live a godly life, and have been for almost a year now. Yet I do not seem to feel myself worthy."

Did you ever own a canary? Go up to his cage and ask him to sing to you. Will he do it? He is silent. Go about your room whistling or humming an air and presently he breaks into song.

You cannot feel while you are examining your feelings. You cannot think while you are examining yourself to see whether you do think. The practice of spiritual vivisection on one's self is fatal to spiritual life. You are not quite sure whether you believe in God. Of course you are not sure while you are asking yourself the question. Act on what faith you have and leave it to grow of itself. Belief in God is at least a probable opinion. Assume it true and act accordingly.

Did it never occur to you that if there were no skeptics in the Church who find it difficult to believe there would be none in the Church to help those who find it impossible to believe?

John Stuart Mill was an unbeliever. And yet John Stuart Mill had enough faith in Christ to begin a Christian life. "Nor even now," he said, "would it be easy even for an unbeliever to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete than to endeavor so to live that Christ would approve our life."

Adopt this method. Read and re-read the life of Christ. Familiarize yourself with his teachings and his spirit. Do not ask yourself whether you have obeyed his teachings. Do not ask yourself whether you possess his spirit. Forget yourself. Forget the things that are past. Put your thoughts on the future. When life questions come up, ask yourself, What would Christ do were he in my place? Endeavor to do what Christ would approve. *Endeavor!* You will not always succeed. You will sometimes misinterpret his teachings. You will sometimes misunderstand his spirit. You will sometimes misapply those teachings and that spirit to the facts before you. You will sometimes even forget to ask the question altogether. But go on. "Look up, not down; out, not in; forward, not backward; and lend a hand." Forget yourself; concentrate all your thoughts upon your life-work. If that is well done, it does not make much matter whether you are happy in doing it or not.

The man who should shut himself up in his room to decide whether he has faith enough in self-government and love enough for his country to be a patriot would be wasting his time. He had better spend his time in buying a bond or planting some potatoes or entering a training camp.

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York.

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THE MENACE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKMEN'S COUNCIL

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY GEORGE KENNAN

THE salient feature of the week's news from Russia is the virtual surrender of the Provisional Government to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. On the 14th of May the Council discussed the terms on which it was willing to form a coalition Ministry and to work with the Provisional Government instead of against it. These terms, as finally agreed upon, were:

1. That the Provisional Government should "openly pursue a policy calculated to bring about as soon as possible a general peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of the right of nations to work out their own destinies."

2. That the Provisional Government should consent to take "decisive measures with a view to the democratization of the army and reinforcement of Russia's military strength at the front for the defense of Russian liberty."

3. That the Provisional Government should consent to bring about a series of social, economic, and financial reforms, including settlement of the land question by the Constituent Assembly, increased direct taxation of wealth, and development in a democratic direction of local self-government.

The first of these proposals was extremely objectionable to most of the members of the Provisional Government, for the reason that it modified Russia's agreement with her western allies without their participation or consent. The Council of Ministers, therefore, at a meeting held on the 16th of May, decided to reject this condition. Meanwhile, the Council of Delegates had appointed a special committee to negotiate with the Provisional Government, and when the contending parties came together the Council proved to be the stronger, or perhaps the more uncompromising, and the Lvoff Ministry surrendered. By the terms of the coalition agreement the Provisional Government not only waived its objection to "peace without annexations or indemnities," but promised to take steps to secure the assent thereto of Russia's western allies. It also agreed to reorganize the Ministry by admitting to it five men acceptable to the Workmen's Council, so that the Socialistic and labor parties would nearly, if not quite, control the Government. Paul Milyukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, disapproved this coalition and tendered his resignation. He thought the agreement compromised Russia's relations with her allies, and he could not consent, apparently, to give up the hope of securing Constantinople, to leave two-thirds of the ancient Kingdom of Poland in the hands of Germany and Austria, and to return Turkish Armenia at the close of the war to its former oppressors. Nor was he willing or able to work with five or six representatives of the Socialist party, whose policy and tactics in the Fourth Duma he had so often condemned. Milyukov's resignation deprived the Provisional Government of one of its ablest and most experienced statesmen, and broke one of the ties that bound it to Great Britain and France.

After the nominees of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council had been taken into the Ministry, Premier Lvoff made a statement to the Associated Press, in which he frankly admitted that the Provisional Government had been forced into this compromise by its own weakness. "My colleagues and I," he said, "had to rely solely upon moral persuasion. . . . Moral influence was a sufficient weapon with a vast majority of reasonable Russian citizens; but, unluckily, both in the civilian population and the army there were individuals and small groups who actively aimed at anarchy and repudiated all forms of discipline. . . . The Government could not remedy this condition without material force, and this force could be obtained only if representatives of the Socialists and allied Left parties entered the Government and agreed to support it."

In considering this surrender of the Provisional Government to the Socialists, the first thing to be noted is that, while it serves as a temporary *modus vivendi*, it permanently settles nothing. If the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council had said to the Executive Committee of the Duma: "Give us six representatives in the Ministry and we will terminate our own existence and trouble you no more," the compromise might possibly have been worth while. But the Council made no such promise. It is still in existence, it intends to remain in existence, and it is determined to exercise continuous supervision and control. In a speech made to the Council on the 4th of April, Count Tseretelli, one of the most influential members (and now a member of the Ministry) said:

"At the present time the control of the situation and of the social revolution is in the hands of the proletariat. If it turns over this control to the bourgeoisie, it must see that the delegated authority is used for the benefit of the people. The Provisional Government is entitled to full executive power if it strengthens the social revolution. So long as it overturns and destroys the old order of things, the proletariat will be the driving force behind its decisions; the proletariat will dictate such decisions, and the proletariat, with all the might of its authority, will enforce them; but if the time comes when the Provisional Government refuses to follow the social revolutionary path—if it takes instead the path of negotiation and compromise—we, comrades, will go against that Government; we will overturn it and reduce it to dust, as we overturned and reduced to dust the Government of the old régime."

From this language it clearly appears that the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates does not intend to give any freedom of judgment or action even to a coalition Ministry. If the Provisional Government turns aside from the path of social revolution, it will be destroyed and ground into dust by the real rulers of Russia, namely, the representatives of the proletariat.

It is difficult to see how Premier Lvoff could have supposed for a moment that he would improve his position or gain material force by throwing overboard Guchkoff and Milyukov and admitting to his Ministry such Socialistic firebrands as Count Tseretelli. The proletariat is satisfied for the time, as it well may be, because it has put five of its representatives into the Ministry while still retaining its supervisory and controlling power. But suppose that a month hence, or three months hence, it becomes dissatisfied with the course of Premier Lvoff and demands that a Socialist be put in his place. The Provisional Government, weakened by the loss of Guchkoff and Milyukov, and still more by its own loss of prestige, will hardly be able to offer any resistance at all; it will simply have to yield. In commenting upon the coalition agreement a Petrograd despatch of May 16 rightly said: "It represents, in fact, a victory for the Council, and it is a heavy price which the Government is paying to attract to itself elements that are purely disruptive and whose attitude toward the Allies cannot in any way be described as warmly appreciative."

In explaining to the Associated Press the reasons for the surrender to the Council of Delegates Premier Lvoff said that he could get material force only by calling on the Socialists. In other words, the Council had all the power, and the Duma, although it represented the nation, was compelled to submit to the will of the proletariat, just as it had previously submitted to the will of the bureaucracy. The question naturally arises, How did the Council of Delegates acquire such extraordinary power if, as Prince Lvoff says, "a vast majority of reasonable Russian citizens" were satisfied with the Provisional Government and only "individuals and small groups" opposed it? This question I shall try to answer in a later article, on "The Early Days of the Russian Revolution." Meanwhile it seems only necessary to say that, while the compromise with the Socialists, theorists, and uneducated men of the Workmen's Council has perhaps averted an immediate danger, it has sowed the seeds of future conflict and has put influence and leadership into the hands of the least sane and least trustworthy of Russia's political parties. The Provisional Government, as originally constituted, might have led the "vast majority of reasonable Russian citizens" along

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the safe path of gradual and prudent reorganization; but the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is likely to lead even "reasonable citizens" astray and to inspire the great mass of the peasantry with hopes and expectations that cannot possibly be realized without social disorder of the most serious kind. The programme of the Council, viz., "promotion of the class interests of the proletariat" at the expense of the interests of capital and the bourgeoisie, is not practicable. It will only split up the population into hostile groups, and thus weaken the state. The Workmen's Council made the same mistake in 1905–6. It was fatal then, and it will be disastrous now.

The most encouraging feature of the present situation is the probability that the compromise with the Socialists will give time for the re-establishment of discipline in the army, which the foolish orders and measures of the Council have largely destroyed. General Brusiloff and General Gurko have withdrawn their resignations and gone back to the front, and all political factions seem to agree that there must be a more vigorous prosecution of the war. This, at least, is something gained; but whether it will prove to be worth the price paid for it is a debatable question.

But there is another encouraging feature of the present situation which should not be lost sight of, and that is the possibility, if not the probability, that a majority of the people and an overwhelming majority of the army, when they are fully informed, will dispute the right of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in Petrograd to judge and act for the whole nation, particularly in matters relating to the war. Already there are many indications of such a revolt against the Council's self-assumed leadership. The officers and soldiers of the whole Fifth Army Corps, for example, sent to the Duma before the Provisional Government surrendered to the Socialists of the Council the following resolutions:

"We have all recognized the authority of the Provisional Government; we have all united with it, and we have all taken the oath of loyalty to it. Consequently, in the field of reforms we shall listen only to the voice of the Provisional Government, and shall regard as official no laws, orders, or regulations except those which come from that Government. We shall by no means take orders from separate professional organizations, because that will create divided authority, the evils of which are apparent to all. We therefore urgently beg our comrades, as well as all workmen and soldiers, to carry their decisions into effect only through the Provisional Government and with its approval, and to urge all soldiers to listen to its voice and go forward with it, hand in hand, in the closest sympathy."

These resolutions were brought to the Duma by a delegation of officers and soldiers representing the whole Fifth Army Corps at the front, and were delivered to Mr. S. I. Shidlovsky, of the Duma Executive Committee. Similar resolutions were received on the same day from the 261st Infantry Regiment, from the officers and soldiers of the First Army, from various regiments of the Don Cossacks, and from the army on the northern front at Riga. The Provisional Government, as originally constituted, also received assurances of unanimous support from the representatives of the United Nobility in twenty-two provinces.

In many cases military organizations at the front addressed the Workmen's Council directly. The 116th Infantry Regiment, for example, said to the Council: "Don't interfere with the army! Don't disturb it with your extreme views! Remember that the army is as able to ruin the country as to save it. Our chief enemies are the Germans and the *provocateurs*. If you will protect us from the latter, we'll protect ourselves from the former."

The officers and soldiers of the Communication and Transportation Corps of the Northern Army sent an address to the Workmen's Council in which they said:

"Your high and beautiful hope that the German people will become sober and clear-sighted and will recover from the bloody hypnosis in which they think they can conquer Europe has, we are convinced, no foundation whatever. Such hopes can only bring immeasurable harm to our watchfulness and our fighting efficiency, and thus play directly into the hands of our enemies."

Even in the garrison of Petrograd there were evidences of a determination to fight the war through to a decisive finish. Long before the Provisional Government surrendered to the Socialists the Volhynia regiment, which was the first to support the revolutionary movement, marched through the streets to the Taurida Palace bearing banners inscribed: "War to a Finish!" "Get Ready Ammunition!" "Remember Our Brothers in the Trenches!" In an address to the soldiers of this regiment the Battalion Committee said:

"Our noble allies—the British, the French, the Italians, the Serbians, the Belgians, and the Montenegrins—look to us for help. They believe that we have not lost our honor. We will justify their belief."

All these resolutions, demonstrations, and addresses—and I have space for only a few of them—certainly indicate that the Workmen's Council will not be able permanently to control the army in matters relating to the war.

New York City, May 22, 1917.

THE PEACEMAKER CHIEF[1]

CHARLES DOXON—Hosquasagada, "the Woodsman," an Onondaga: Work Chief, Peacemaker Chief, Friend to the Indian and Paleface. Is not this an epitaph any man may covet, white or red? Here was an Indian who saved himself and others through work. He has gone now on the Great Sky Trail. The hearts of the Onondagas, Firekeepers of the Iroquois, are sad. They have lost their best friend, their greatest peacemaker. Charles Doxon, the Onondaga, would have honored any race. He was the acknowledged social and industrial leader of his people, the finest product of that nation—at least during the past century.

Born into abject reservation poverty, in the dark corner of an Indian lodge he often sat and waited hungrily for his relatives to eat their frugal meal that he might gather the few scraps that remained. Yet from this wretched, starved childhood he made his way to a place of economic independence and industrial efficiency, of marked leadership and service to his people. At eighteen Charles Doxon could neither read, write, nor speak English, for he had been warned by his grandfather to shun the devil that hid between the covers of a printed book. Then one day this young Indian, timid as a rabbit, arose and shook the dust of the reservation from his feet and hit a work trail. Some little girls taught him to read, write, and speak English by the way. The trail led to Hampton. There for three years he worked from 4 A.M. to 7 P.M. to get two hours of industrial training in the evening. At the end of three years he became an engineer. Three years more followed, in which he mastered English and acquired a common school education. He now became a builder of locomotives, working and studying nights until his product ranked with the best. Later he returned to Hampton and taught other Indians the work habit, to know with him the joy that comes to the man that knows how. And with what patience and sympathy did this man, who had mastered the task, work with those struggling with it!

Had Charles Doxon been an organizer, he would have been known as the Booker Washington of the Indian. Instead, he simply lived and worked by the side of the trail, and was a friend to the red man. He did not tell others how to do, he himself did. He knew the joy of work. He demonstrated to the Indian application, industry, perseverance, honesty, thrift, cooperation, efficiency, kindness, sympathy, love, and service. As he worked he helped others to help themselves.

For several years Mr. Doxon had been an expert motor assembler in the Franklin Automobile Works of Syracuse. Hosquasagada was a harmonizer, friction eliminator, peacemaker, in his tribal and social life. He was the clearing-house for all Indian

[1] See portrait of this Chief on page 193.

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feeling. No Onondaga exerted so great a unifying influence. Pagans and Christians alike loved him. He served them all.

Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, cheering the old, promoting the industrial activities and training of the people, striving for better legislation, these were some of the things with which this man was concerned for his people. His last act was one of service for them, his last message for them. "I want to drop in the harness," he often said. The Great Spirit was kind. His wish was granted him. One such man redeems the race.

Charles Doxon never got away from his people. Other Indians have made good in industrial and professional life, but in doing so they left their people behind. This man carried his people to the end. How closely he held them to that great heart of his only those in his confidence knew.

In the creation story of the Iroquois, to the turtle was given the privilege of upholding the world. How significant is Indian symbolism! Hosquasagada was of the Turtle Clan, and for many years he upheld the Onondaga world. He asked nothing that all could not share with him on equal terms. He never forgot he was "of the people." And because he shared their common joys, sorrows, and labors, yet was able to interpret, to glorify and dignify them, Hosquasagada—the Woodsman—still lives. MABEL POWERS—YEHSENNOHWEHS.

A KINGDOM IN ARABIA

BY FRANCES HEALEY

SIX years ago last December a party of nine Americans, of whom I was one, with Archibald Forder, an English missionary, as guide, started for Petra from Jerusalem. We crossed the Jordan near Jericho, and proceeded south through Madeba and Wady Mojib to Kerak, twenty miles east of the Dead Sea, where we proposed to spend Sunday. The famous wheat-fields of Moab were being plowed for the spring crop, and as we rode through them friendly Bedouin met and saluted us. The whole country seemed lapped in peace and content. We passed a small camp of Turkish soldiers at Wady Waleh, and met another company with field guns leaving Kerak the day we rode in, but this was nothing unusual. On Sunday we explored the famous old city from end to end and commented on its peaceful spirit.

Monday morning we were awakened before sunrise by rifle shots. A second later one of our muleteers dashed in, his eyes bulging with excitement, crying:

"The Keraki, the Keraki! They've risen against the Government!"

"Against the Government! Against the Turks?"

"*Eiwa, eiwa!* Look!"

He pointed down the valley, where, stealing along the narrow trails, we could see groups of five or six Bedouin, shadowy figures in the dim light of dawn, creeping up towards the city. Close at hand, under our doorway and cowering under the shadow of the city walls, passed a procession of other Bedouin—old men, women, and children—hurrying along in silence, like dim, blue wraiths, fleeing to outlying camps and caves.

Our guide shook his head.

"So much for the 'peace' of Kerak!" he said. "You'd best unpack. I've lived through three insurrections here, and God alone knows when we shall get out! To-morrow, perhaps. Perhaps in a week, or a month, but not to-day."

A Turkish soldier was shooting from our roof, and punctuating the whine and purr of Martini and Mauser bullets came the heavier note of shells singing overhead from the cannon at the castle. Our house was between this castle and the main attack of the Bedouin, bullets falling into our courtyard all day and men and women being killed under our very windows.

Towards night the shooting died down, and after sunset deep silence settled over the city—a living, breathing silence, that watched and triumphantly waited.

Exhausted, we fell asleep. About ten o'clock we started broad awake, as a watch-dog began to bark, running back and forth on the roofs. We strained our ears. Soon, very far away, we heard a low murmur. It grew louder, coming nearer and nearer, a welter of angry voices. The murmur grew to a roar, and with a rush of bare feet beneath our windows a mob stopped at our courtyard gate.

"*Abu Giries! Abu Giries!*"[1]

Mr. Forder rose.

"They call me, and I must go to them. If, by any chance, I don't come back, keep the doors barred till the end."

He went. We heard him take down the barriers from the gate and open it. There was a great shout from two hundred throats and then silence.

How long we knelt in the dark room I do not know—perhaps ten minutes, more or less. Then the gate opened. Some one beat on the iron door, and Mr. Forder's voice, so glad, so carefree, that it was almost unrecognizable, cried:

"Open the door. They're all friends—we're quite safe. Light a candle, somebody. I've brought Barrakat."

In the flickering light we saw a tall and splendid Bedouin sheik, stripped to his white cotton shirt, bare-headed, bare-armed, pistols and daggers in his belt, drawn sword and smoking rifle in his hands. In his wild beauty he was a flashing spirit of war and freedom. He talked to us rapidly in Arabic, his white teeth gleaming through his beard, the whites of his eyes shining in the candle-light. Then he raised his hand in farewell and was gone.

The next day, prisoners to these friendly Bedouin, we were sent out of the city and down to one of their camps ten miles nearer the Dead Sea. The sheiks summoned Mr. Forder before them.

"*Abu Giries*," they cried, "we are tired of the misrule of the Turk. We will never submit to these laws they try to enforce on us, never! Go back to Jerusalem and put us under the protection of the English Consul. Tell him we want England to come in here and do for us what she has done for our brothers in Egypt."

Mr. Forder discouraged their hopes.

"Nevertheless, go," they urged.

A passport was written and sealed, and a guard given us. We were passed on from one tribe to another. Robbers, true wild Bedouin of the desert, captured and robbed us, and were leading us out to death or worse when we were rescued by the Bedouin who were responsible for us. From their camp we made an eighteen-hour march, riding from ten at night till four the next afternoon, and just escaping a bloody raid from the angry robbers. Finally, a week after the insurrection broke out, we reached Hebron and safety.

While we were with them the Bedouin told us how they had got six hundred and forty soldiers and twenty cannon out of Kerak by a ruse, and how on Sunday night they had killed those men in their tents and torn up the railway and telegraph lines.

"Why have we done it? We shall be punished? *Marloom*—certainly! But, by Allah, it's worth it![1] We are free men and will never give our sons for their accursed army, nor our daughters to a life of shame. Our weapons are our own, not theirs. We want England to rule us!"

Turkey put down that rebellion. Sixty sheiks were hanged from the castle walls at Kerak, a ruinous fine was exacted, and two or three months later, looking across the Dead Sea from Bethlehem, I saw a low-hanging cloud of smoke above the city of Kerak. But Arabia, even that small edge of it, was not con-

[1] Father of Giries or George. An Arab is called by the name of his oldest son. So old Abu Nasif was called Father of Nasif, from the name of a little half-forgotten baby who had died fifty years before.

[1] The laws the Government was trying to force on them demanded both men and women for the army, and that the Bedouin be disarmed. When the Bedouin told us of these laws, we did not believe them, but events in Belgium and France have convinced me that the Bedouin told the truth.

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quered, and to-day, six years later, there is a kingdom of Arabia under English protection.

Can it live? People ask, if the Arabs can govern themselves, why have they not made a nation before? Why has this race stood still for so many centuries? Here are two reasons: First, although the Arab sheik of to-day, save for coffee and gunpowder, lives as Abraham lived four thousand years ago, this is no sign of racial degeneracy. To wring a bare living from the desert is cruelly hard, and a man's energies are used up in mere daily existence. That the Arabs can develop nationally when the hard struggle of their life is lightened has been proved by the Moors in North Africa and Spain. Theirs is a young race—although so old—not a degenerate. The second reason is their religion. Islam—submission—stamps its mark on all believers. Islam is pure fatalism, deadening to initiative. It is a fact that in riding through the country it is perfectly possible to tell a Moslem from a Christian Bedoui simply by his expression. The Bedouin are bound down by these two conditions. If one or the other of the chords is broken, they can rise, but the two tie a Gordian knot which holds them fast.

The Arabs—I am speaking, not of the town Arabs, but of the Bedouin as I, their prisoner, saw and knew them—the Arabs are by nature chivalrous and kind to friends and guests, both men and women. If the life of their women is hard, it is because natural conditions make it so, and not because of man's cruelty. In a country where highway robbery is an honest profession it is a dire insult to say of a man, "He robbed women!" Hospitality is a common virtue—a lavish hospitality that frequently reduces a sheik to penury. I have never heard a story of Bedouin custom, chivalry, or delicacy so romantic and picturesque that it could not be duplicated or equaled in the desert to-day.

I was a prisoner to these people in danger and hardships, at a time when passions ran high and life and death walked hand in hand, but my memories of them are not of cruelties and brutalities, but of the courtesy of the men, who gave the old mother of their sheik the place of honor in the tent when she called on us; of the tender care of a man too old to fight for a tiny baby that he nursed in his arms all day while its mother went into the city to mourn a slain relative; of the petting and kisses a hot-headed young warrior gave a frolicsome kid; of the habitual generosity that made any man to whom we gave an orange or a bowl of food divide it with all others present. Last, but not least, of the indescribably dear homeliness and content I found in the woman's half of a tent, where the young wife sat baking bread for her husband's supper while her baby, an exquisite ivory Buddha, sat unwinking beside her and her husband played with two frolicsome kids that nibbled his fingers and beard while he waited.

I am glad for this new kingdom established under happy auspices, and under England's protection as the Bedouin wished, for in time Arabia shall not be least among the nations—*Inshallah!* [God willing!]

CARDINAL MERCIER

BY JOHN A. GADE

Mr. Gade has lately returned from Belgium, where he was the chief delegate for the most southerly and largest province of the country, the Hainaut, as well as in charge of the sector of northern France containing the fortress of Mauberge, representing in both places the Commission for Relief in Belgium.—THE EDITORS.

AGAINST the lurid and awful background of conquered Belgium one figure stands out in sharp silhouette, a personality that has succeeded in dominating the chaos of events. It is Desiré Félicien François Joseph, Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines. Amid terror and anguish, destruction and desolation, he stands to-day, as during the first hours of his country's long agony, a great light in the darkness, the one to whom all look for guidance and courage. His presence more than any other factor is keeping his countrymen from despair. As long as he remains at their head, they know that there is still hope for the small provinces gripped in the band of burning steel.

I saw him first on All Saints' Day, when his friend and publisher, Mr. Dessain, Acting Burgomaster of Malines, took me to high mass. Outside the great ocher walls of the Cathedral the sculptured loveliness of the Middle Ages lay charred and ruined; on every side were gaping cellars, riddled walls, and lonely chimneys—the Cathedral itself is torn by shot and shell. I was given a seat behind the Bishop of Bruges by the choir rail. On the throne by the altar sat a tall, motionless figure in scarlet crowned with a miter. As he bent forward the golden cross dangled over his gaunt figure. He slowly rose to read from the Scriptures which the kneeling acolytes held before him. All knelt instinctively in the presence of that consciousness of just authority which we call majesty. The scarlet figure that now stood erect towered above all around him. The deep-set, jet-black eyes under a broad forehead, in spite of their sadness, held a calm born of thought and prayer. They seemed to look beyond the faces before him, as to a vision of another world. One could fancy it the saintly, ascetic gaze of St. Francis. The thin, almost bloodless lips worked nervously under the aquiline nose even when not reading. The skin seemed transparent. What a marvelous mixture of frailty and strength, of gentleness and unconquerable resolution—a master of men!

Slowly, but quite distinctly, the rather hard, unmusical voice repeated: "*Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus; orbis terrarum et universi qui habitant in eo.*"

Then he rose, and the figure stood out doubly dramatic against the rough planking and temporary altar constructed in the Cathedral nave after the destruction of the old tabernacle. The sun, falling through the stained glass, now greatly shattered, threw streaks of purple, crimson, and amber around the prelate's feet in their scarlet shoes. What puppets were Irving and Tree, I thought, despite all the tricks and trappings of their art, in comparison with this figure! What was their Wolsey beside this dignity and serenity! The blue-veined, transparent hands with the great episcopal ring were raised to make the sign of the cross over the multitude, to whom for two years he had preached patience and courage. Then he passed out through the kneeling crowd, and the words came back to me: "I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine."

The episcopal palace was as cold and clammy as I remember the Grimani in Venice. Between the columns of the lower hall half a dozen priests were discussing in low tones some topic of interest. A weeping figure in black passed out—she must have come for comfort and strength, and they had not been denied her. I entered for my first audience. Mr. Dessain knelt. The Primate, wishing with his usual tact quickly to bridge over the Protestant's momentary hesitation, strode forward and, stretching out his hand, said, very simply, "I do not need to tell you how welcome you are under my roof." Then, drawing up his chair close to the one offered me, he fixed his piercing eyes on mine. Quick and trenchant came the expression of his thoughts. He lost no time on the surface of things, but went at once to their source and origin. His mind was like a searchlight playing on every point of the subject in hand—now and then an expression of pain would pass over his features or righteous anger would contract the eyebrows. He seemed to draw from an inexhaustible store of wisdom, and I realized the breadth of mind and clearness of vision ascribed to him.

Above the table in the dining-room the ceiling had been shot to pieces. His face was suddenly lit up with humor as he pointed to the broken moldings and said, "*Vous pardonnez, Mr. le Commissionaire, se sont mes Freschi Tedeschi!*" Knowing I was an architect, he asked if I would not, before going, come

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and see the crucifix he loved so much. He might not remember it next time. No one would have guessed it to be Meunier's work, it was so very different from what the great master later produced. But the marks of genius were unmistakable—the contraction of the limbs, the skin so tightly drawn over muscle and bone, and the mixture of agony and resignation below the crown of thorns. It had never been cast, the Cardinal said, and was the only thing of its kind which he knew of that the sculptor had ever produced.

Then we went outside, and our talk continued where the square tower of St. Rombout cast its shadow over the late roses of the garden, just behind the church wall where the fodder for Prussian horses covers the grave of an English princess.

Life in many phases has fashioned the great Cardinal. Not the war; this has only revealed him to the world. His students have always known him. Leo XIII made choice of him early, not only to teach his University of Louvain the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, so dear to the Pope's heart, but to develop a school of philosophy and draw round him the great intellects of his day and to create the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie. "It is not the mission of philosophy to predict what ought to be, but to explain what is," said Cardinal Mercier at the inauguration of the new Institut at Louvain; "to study facts, and as far as possible all the facts, those that belong to inorganic as well as to organic nature, those of history as well as those of the economic or political order; such must be the first care of whoever aspires to establish a real philosophy. Philosophy does not go ahead of the sciences, but follows them to synthesize their results under the guidance of the first principles of human knowledge."

Whoever speaks with Cardinal Mercier on abstract subjects perceives how the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas permeates his whole intellectual being, and is indeed the basis of much of his thought. This objective and realistic philosophy, as opposed to the subjective philosophy of Hegel and Fichte, is what inspires him, and the great prelate's wish to conciliate Thomism with modern progress and scientific research and to harmonize the results of modern science with the unchanging dogmas of Christian metaphysics is constantly apparent. He is ever seeking a continuity of thought and the reconciliation, or rather harmony, of his great master's principles with the progressive ideas of to-day. His is no one-sided point of view. To prepare himself for the chair of philosophy, he determined to look at his subject from every angle. With this design he made diligent study of natural science and medicine, worked assiduously in chemical laboratories, stood beside van Gehuchten in his famous researches into the nervous system, and frequented the clinics of La Salpêtrière when Charcot was astonishing the world by his treatment of mental diseases. His ever-active mind has followed every new current of English or German thought. In hearing him preach or reading any of his great messages one is constantly led to trace the clear vision and liberal ideas back to the teaching of St. Thomas. In his latest address to the Belgian soldiers he tells them: "St. Thomas Aquinas, the most authoritative teacher of Christian theology, proclaims that public retribution is commendable. A just war has austere beauty; it brings out the disinterested enthusiasm of the whole people, which gives, or is prepared to give, its most precious possession, even life itself, for the defense and vindication of things which cannot be weighed, which cannot be calculated, but which can never be extinguished—justice, honor, peace, liberty! . . . Have you not felt in these two years that the war, the ardent, unflagging devotion which you give to it, purifies you, separates your higher nature from the dross, uplifts you to something nobler and better than yourselves?"

It seemed to me at times when he was speaking as if he were the great champion of that thought which opposes German modernism. No one honored science more or was more in tune with his time and modern progress, but the doctrines of Nietzsche and Treitschke were refuted at every point by his sound logic, trenchant sallies, his sense of justice and truth.

He is nearer the heart of Belgium than any one else, because no one knows so well what she has suffered and no one else has seen so clearly all her moral grandeur. He has been "all things to all men"—the embodiment of patriotism and courage. I read with amazement in the secretly published "La Libre Belgique" the text of his letters to von Bissing or von Huehne, and wondered how it was possible for him to speak so plainly and still remain free. No threat could still his voice or paralyze his pen. In scathing denunciation, with majestic scorn and judicial precision, he called the highest authorities to account for broken promises and violated faith. Unarmed save with the truth, his words must have seared even their souls, and yet they dared not touch him. Again and again he pictures to them war as they are waging it—stripped of all respect for human laws, all morality, all pity, all Christian considerations, with, however, the supreme sacrilege of invoking the name of God in the midst of every atrocity and inside the very walls of the churches they have ruined. Shortly before he wrote his famous letter dealing with the deportations it was my privilege to communicate to him details of the deportations in the province of Hainaut. It was characteristic of his thoughtful graciousness to send me this word a few days later by one of his household: "The Cardinal wishes me to tell you that the document that will now proclaim to the world the truth as to Belgium's slavery contains all the facts which you furnished him from the Hainaut."

The Cardinal priest is a familiar figure in all parts of his diocese, as he was over all the country before his motor was taken away and his free movements restricted. No German order was more of a boomerang than the one which, published on the walls of Cologne shortly after Mercier's arrest, defended it on the ground that he had "stirred up trouble where the most perfect order reigned." It is only a step from his palace to his Cathedral, and not much farther to the seminary where thousands of young priests come to sit at his feet, but his course takes him early and late to the most miserable and squalid quarters of his great diocese to comfort and encourage and help. He looks more than sixty-five years old as you see him nervously striding along the sidewalks. "Patriotism and Endurance" is his slogan, as "Virtue and Work" is his motto. As the war went on, it seemed to me that the Roman Churchman receded while the Belgian patriot stood forth. Never were his independence and passion for truth stronger than when he denounced his brother Cardinal, von Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne, who, despite the hundreds of undeniable and irrefutable proofs to the contrary, subservient to his Kaiser, made public denial of the true fate of the deported girls of Lille.

Like most thinkers, Mercier is strongest in his writings. A sermon may seem powerful when he delivers it, but its full force is felt only on subsequent reading, when its dignity and the strength of the motives presented appear more clearly, as well as the virility and subtlety of the thought. The style is sharp and incisive. There are a vigor of conviction and an energy of resolution that carry you with it. It is the healthy, sound realism of Aristotle. Surely nothing greater has been written during the war than his pastoral on "The Sacred Value of Patriotism and Endurance." Clear as a triumphant clarion it sounds, above the roar of cannon, across the battlefields of Europe.

"God will save Belgium, my brothers, you cannot doubt it. Let us rather say: He is saving her.

"In truth, through the glare of conflagrations and the stream of blood, do you not already perceive the proofs of his love?

"'*D'avoir porté le trouble là ou regnait le plus bel ordre.*'

Lives there a patriot who does not feel that Belgium has grown? Which one of us would have the courage to tear up the last page of our history?

"Who does not gaze with pride upon the reflection of glory from the slain fatherland?

"The fatherland, . . . it is a fraternity of souls."

When he leaves the pulpit, a serenity such as came from the good St. Francis has entered the soul of his hearers.

He has strength for all. In his presence you are ashamed of weakness. One morning, when I had been submitting my work to the Cardinal, it had seemed to me beyond my strength and I found it impossible to banish harrowing pictures from my mind. He had noticed my depression. Rising, his great bony hand fell on my shoulder. "You seem discouraged," he said. "Yes, your Eminence, I see no light upon *this* dark scene." Quick as a flash came the reply, half upbraiding, half victorious, "Well, if you follow a great Captain, as I do, you will *never* be discouraged."

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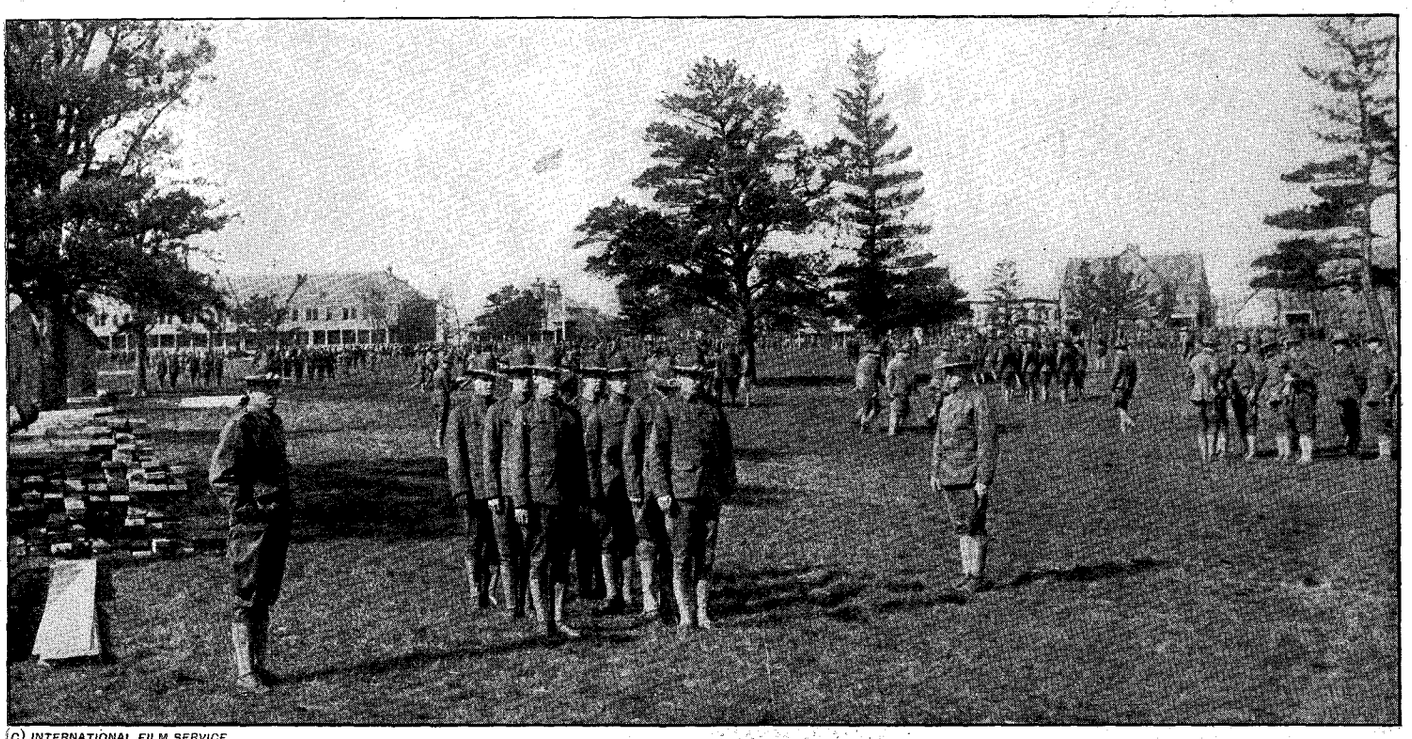

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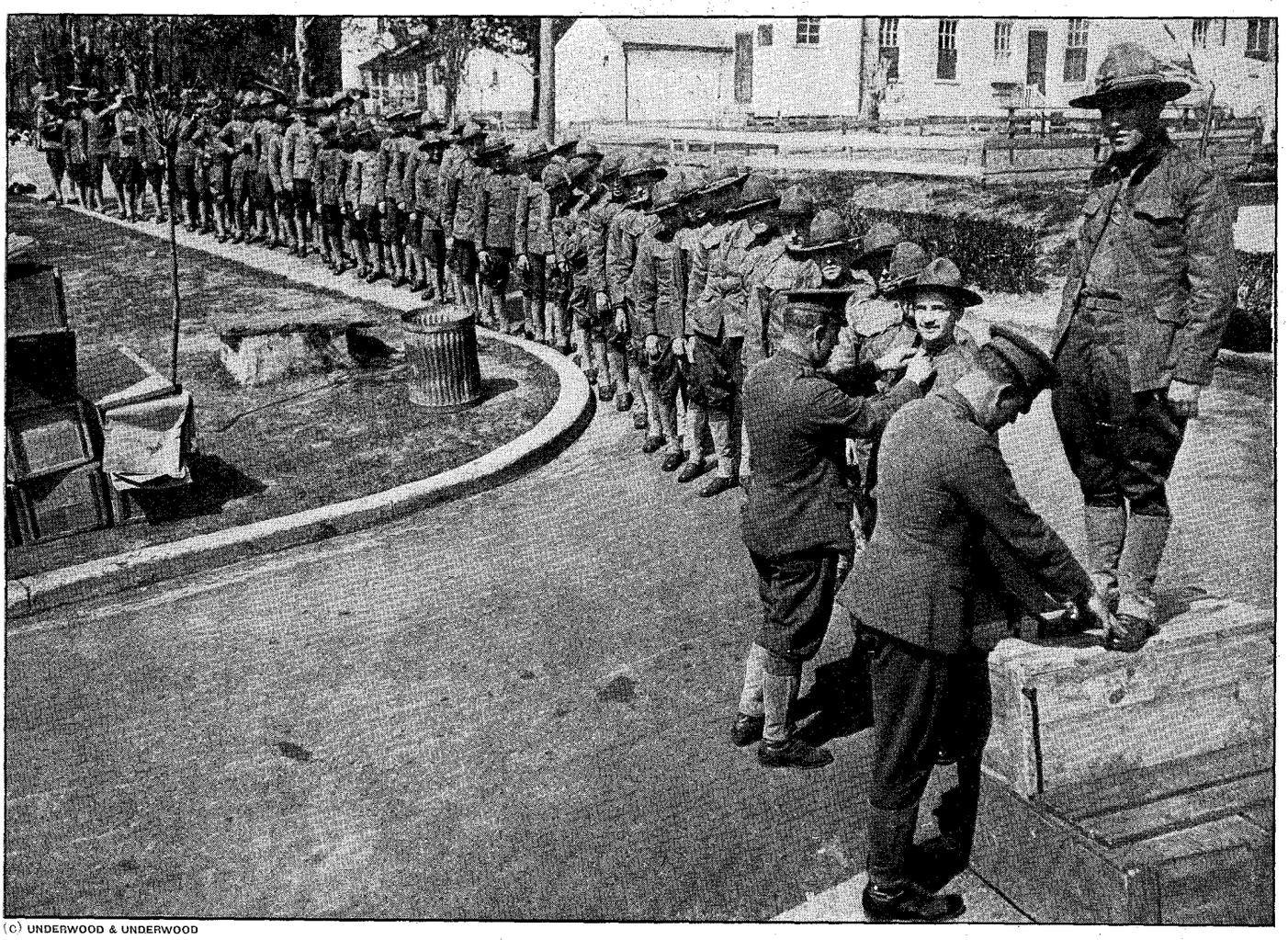
A scene at Plattsburg Barracks, New York, one of the training camps for the Reserve Officers of our new armies



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A new contingent of enlisted men for the regular army. This picture, taken at Fort Slocum, New York, shows recruits in process of being fitted with blouses and shoes. Great care is taken in the fitting of shoes, for the condition of a soldier's feet is an all-important factor in his usefulness

OFFICERS AND MEN FOR THE NEW ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES

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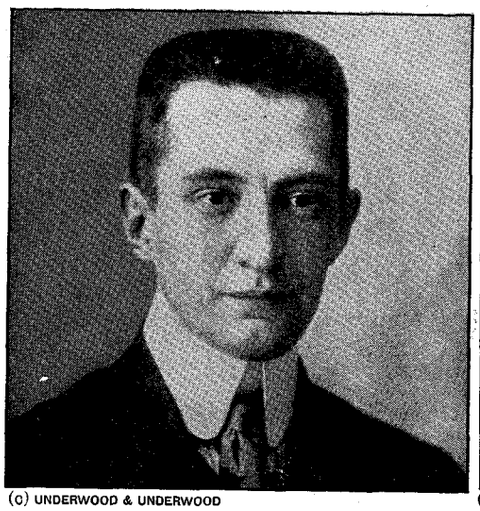

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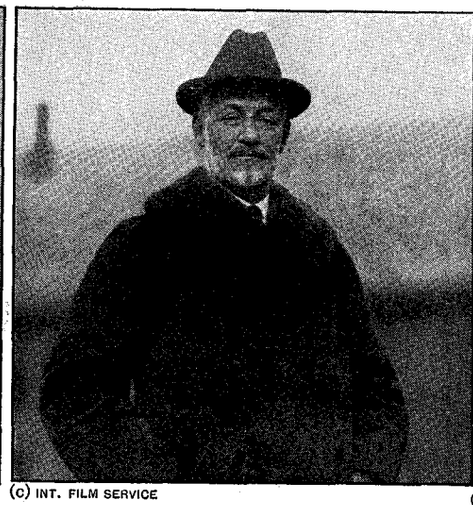
A. E. KERENSKI, RUSSIA'S NEW MINISTER OF WAR



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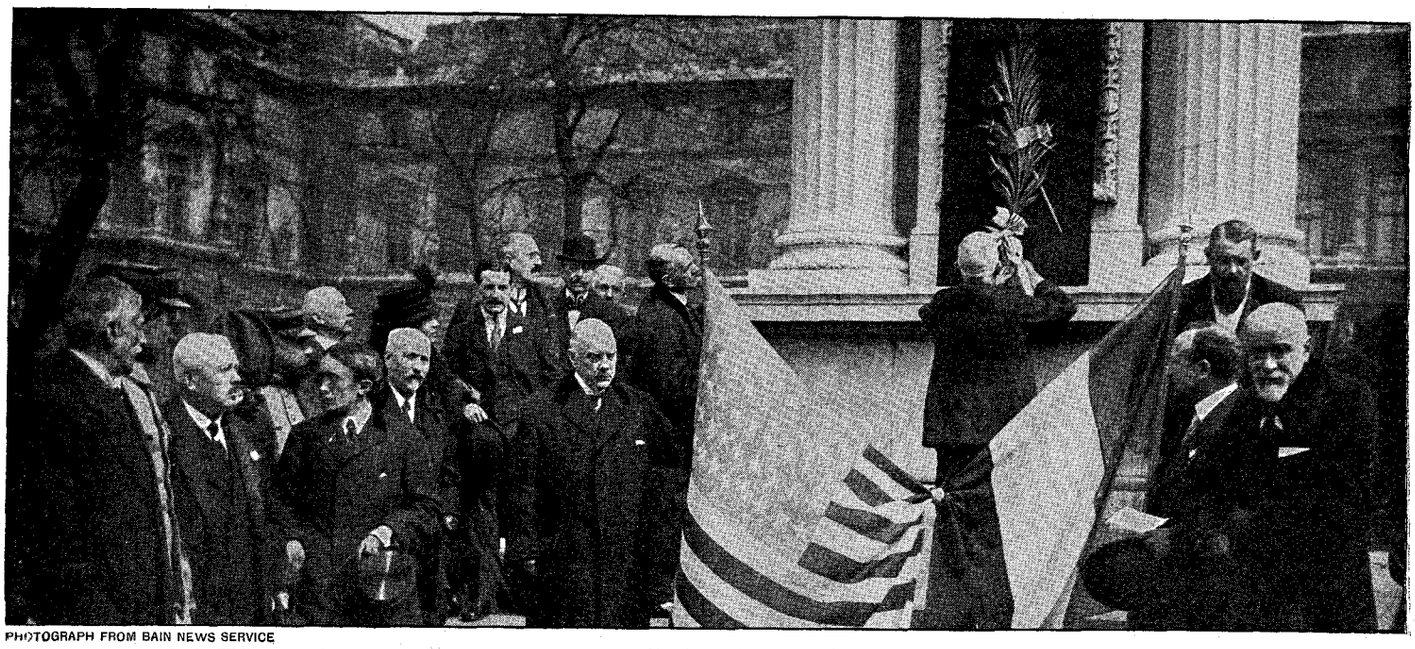
REAR-ADMIRAL SIMS, COMMANDER OF U. S. NAVAL FORCES IN EUROPEAN WATERS

(c) HARRIS & EWING

HENRY P. DAVISON, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS WAR COUNCIL

(c) AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

ENRICO ARLOTTA, OF THE ITALIAN WAR MISSION, SHAKING HANDS WITH ITALIAN WORKINGMEN IN NEW YORK CITY



PHOTOGRAPH FROM BAIN NEWS SERVICE

"AMERICA DAY" IN FRANCE—PLACING A BRONZE WREATH ON LAFAYETTE'S STATUE IN PARIS

Ambassador Sharp is seen in the foreground, at the left, by the American flag

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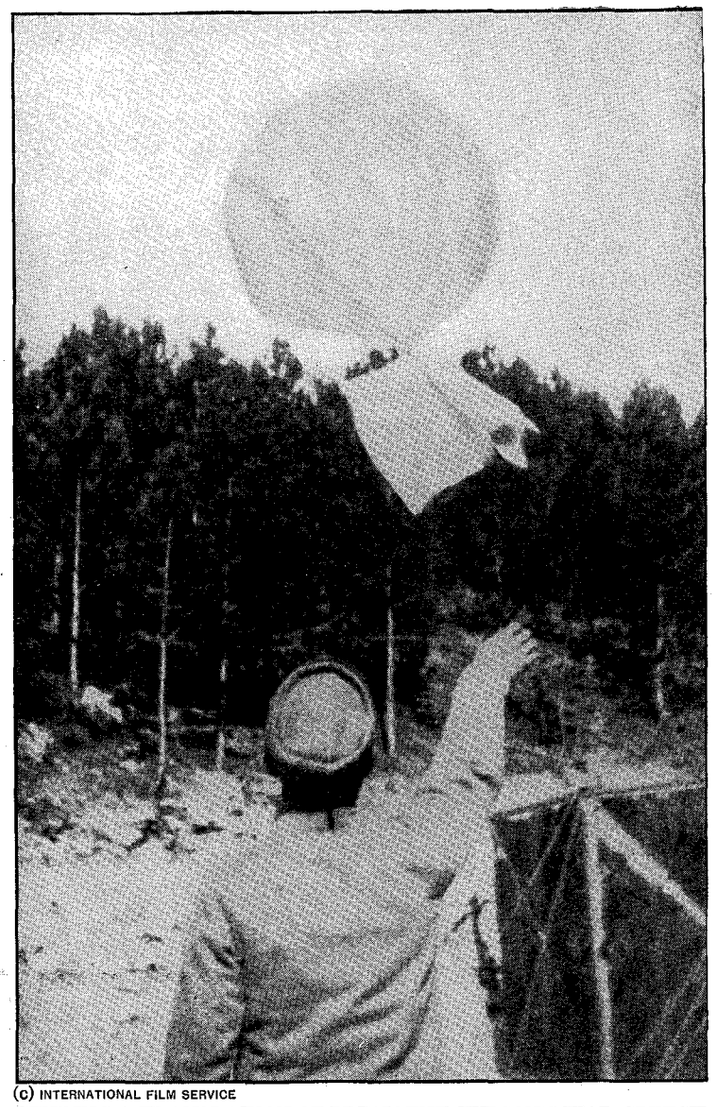
PHOTOGRAPH FROM PICTORIAL PRESS

ABYSSINIA'S NEWLY CROWNED WOMAN RULER

Zeoditon, Abyssinia's new ruler, denominated an "Empress" in the daily press, is said to be a granddaughter of the late King Menelik, and is reported to have come to the throne last March as a result of religious dissensions that eliminated Menelik's son from the succession. She is probably the only woman of color in the world who is a reigning monarch



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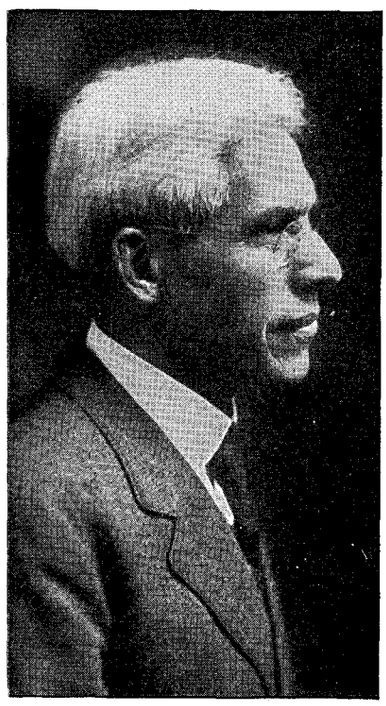
SENDING A TRANSLATION OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR SPEECH FROM THE FRENCH LINES TO THE GERMAN TRENCHES

The value of President Wilson's address in which he outlined America's reasons for entering the war is indicated by the efforts made, as shown in the picture, to get it into the hands of the German troops, so that they may understand why the nations are warring against German militarism



CHARLES DOXON, "THE PEACE-MAKER CHIEF"

See the article "The Peacemaker Chief" on another page

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WELLESLEY GIRLS HONOR THE CLASS OF 1917 IN A STRIKING WAY

At the annual May Frolic the sophomores of Wellesley College complimented the seniors by forming the numerals of the class in a living design. A period (not shown) was formed by officers of the classes

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THE CHALLENGE

"The world must be made safe for democracy."—*President Wilson, April 2, 1917*

BY DYSART McMULLEN

Not with the rolling voices of the guns,
Nor yet with sheen of sun on bayonet bright,
Do we salute the world, this day of days,
Strong to uphold the right.

Power shall answer might in days to come,
Shell speak to shell beneath a flaming sky,
And soldiers swarm the narrow ways of death
Proud of their chance to die.

But that is for the future; here to-day
After long waiting have we now found tongue,
And in the forum of the world's acclaim
Immortal challenge flung.

He must be safe who delves with humble hands!—
He must be safe who toils in storm and heat!—
Never again the plaything of dull kings
Chained to ambitious feet!

Only for this we go into the murk:
Not for revenge—yea, though our dead be hid
Deep in the sea and call with clarion voice—
Our greatness must forbid.

But to this monstrous thing which men have made
Out of long ages strong of hate and might—
This bloody mask called Emperor or King,
This horror of the night—

We call a halt! and bid it stand and draw!—
Beat the long roll and all our bugles play!
Hark well our challenge! Ye who crowd the night!—
It is the dawn of day!

A NEW REASON FOR SUBSCRIBING TO THE LIBERTY LOAN

BY THEODORE H. PRICE

THERE are many excellent and compelling reasons why every one should buy the Liberty Loan. It is the patriotic thing to do. The investment is absolutely safe. The bonds are easily convertible, and can always be used as collateral. They are convenient. They are exempt from all taxes except the inheritance tax. They are payable in gold. They are the obligations of the richest nation in the world, and three-fifths of the present issue will be secured by the obligations of the European nations to whom $3,000,000,000 of the $5,000,000,000 that is to be borrowed will be loaned. Those who buy them will help to win the war and hasten its ending.

These and many other good reasons for subscribing to the loan are being urged upon Americans everywhere. There is, however, another reason for subscribing that has not been stressed as it might have been.

This reason is suggested by the fact that every issue of United States bonds that has been made since 1861 has been salable before its maturity at premium or a profit on the issue price.

This statement is probably true also of the issues made before 1861, but I have not thought it necessary to investigate their history, as the outstanding debt of the Nation prior to that year was so small as to be negligible, and the $45,000,000 of 6 per cent bonds sold to finance the Mexican War were easily disposed of at premiums ranging from 3.02 per cent to 4.05 per cent.

Just why a greater effort has not been made to call attention to the profit that a purchase of the bonds now offered will probably yield is not clear.

Perhaps it may have been overlooked, or there may have been a feeling that an appeal to patriotism should not be coupled with the suggestion of financial gain.

This feeling is a natural one, but it is illogical. Although we have come to think of it as a sublimated emotion or instinct that implies only pride and sacrifice, patriotism is the expression of intelligent self-interest. It does involve a willingness to make sacrifices and even a willingness to die for one's government, but this willingness is an unconscious affirmation of the belief that one's government is worth supporting, and that its citizens and their children will be better off if the existing institutions are maintained than they would be if these institutions were destroyed. When men cease to believe this, their patriotic devotion to their government is at an end; they are then likely to become revolutionists and are usually called traitors unless and until the revolution in which they have engaged is successful.

It is generally assumed that Sir Walter Scott had the unpatriotic man in mind when he asked:

> "Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land?"

and added that such a man was doomed to die

> "Unwept, unhonored, and unsung;"

but the assumption is a mistake. The love of the land or the locality is an instinct, and the man who lacks it is abnormal. It is noticeable in the animal world, and even cows have nostalgia. In so far as human beings are concerned, it is probably atavistic, and while, like most things that are normal, it is to be encouraged, it is not specially intelligent and it is not patriotism.

According to the last census, there were 13,515,886 persons of foreign birth in the United States. Presumably they still feel an affection for the countries in which they were born, but we demand and insist upon their loyalty and service to this Government, because their residence here is evidence of their belief in its superiority either in the happiness that it secures or in the opportunities that it provides.

Let us not deceive ourselves. Patriotism is an expression of

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intelligent self-interest. It implies allegiance to a government, and not to a locality or country. It springs from the belief that we and our children will be happiest under the government to which we have given our allegiance and that therefore it is our duty to support it.

It is upon the intelligence of this self-interest that patriotism must depend for its justification.

It is undesirable if it supports a bad government. We approve of the Russian revolutionists who drove the Czar from power, and we hope for the establishment of a republic in Germany because we think that autocracy is opposed to the best interests of the people.

We believe that those who support it are destined to defeat and loss, and conversely we are confident that those who defend democracy will be benefited by its triumph.

I have felt impelled thus to justify an appeal to self-interest in behalf of the Liberty Loan because a previous article of mine, upon "Patriotism—A Higher Self-Interest," was severely criticised as tending to "despiritualize" one of the noblest qualities that men possess.

It is true that loyalty to one's government has been so glorified that it has come to be thought of as spiritual, but it is equally true that no government can long retain the loyalty of its citizens unless they are reciprocally benefited.

I am therefore unable to see any impropriety in urging people to subscribe to the Liberty Loan because I believe that it will be a very profitable investment. I will go even further and say that I believe that patriotism and profit are by no means incompatible provided the patriotism is of the intelligent kind that selects a good government as the object of its devotion. We urge the security of Government bonds and the promptitude with which the interest on them is paid as a reason for buying them. Why should we hesitate about calling attention to the probability that it may be possible to sell them at ten per cent over the issue price within three years or less, in which case they would pay nearly 7 per cent per annum instead of 3½ per cent?

Some enormous fortunes were made during our Civil War by those who were persistent investors in the obligations of the United States Government and steadfast in their confidence that specie payments would be resumed. This steadfastness was the expression of patriotism, and it was very profitable because it was intelligently self-interested.

All Americans are supporting the United States Government because they verily believe that it is the best Government that men have as yet devised, and they are right.

Because it is the best Government it is sure to survive, and its strength and security are certain to be greatly increased.

It will emerge from the present struggle a creditor of nearly all the Powers of Europe and South America, and the people of the United States will compose by far the richest Nation in the world. They will number nearly one hundred and twenty million. They speak a common language, and are for the most part animated by the same ideals, one of which is economic efficiency. Ninety-three per cent of them can read and write and most of them have a fairly good education. In these respects, as in many others, they are unique in the world's history, and the material development that will follow a successful war is likely to surpass the wildest dreams of the most imaginative optimist. In 1896 the fear that the United States would demonetize gold, and that other nations would follow her example, drove capital to England for investment, and British consols, which then paid only 2¾ per cent, sold at 113, at which price the yield was only about 2⅜ per cent.

Suppose the fear of a prolonged period of paper inflation in Europe should have the reverse effect when the war is over and foreigners can invest their money here. What then would be the value of non-taxable United States bonds yielding 3½ per cent and payable in 1932? If in 1918 they should sell upon the same basis that English consols commanded in 1896, they would be worth about 113.

Then, too, the present issue is convertible into any subsequent issue the Government shall make during the war that bears a higher rate of interest. This privilege of conversion adds greatly to the value of the bond. If the war continues and another loan at a higher rate becomes necessary, the holder of the bonds now offered for sale will get a larger return upon his investment. Suppose, however, as is quite possible, that the Government should decide to make interest payable on the next issue subject to the income tax. In that case the present loan, with the comparatively small amount of United States bonds already outstanding and a few other securities that are guaranteed free of taxation by those who issued them, would be practically the only non-taxable investments in the United States, for many lawyers now believe that under the income tax amendment the Federal Government has the power to impose an income tax upon the interest received on State and municipal bonds.

This exemption, as measured by the differential already established in the investment market in favor of non-taxable investments, would be worth about 1½ per cent per annum.

On a fifteen-year bond this would be equal to a premium of nearly 20 per cent, and, while it is hardly to be expected that such a premium would be immediately or constantly obtainable, it is reasonable to assume that as soon as it were known that the Liberty Loan would be the last non-taxable obligation issued by the United States Government it would at once be salable at a very handsome profit on the price at which it is now offered. It is therefore apparent that there is a good chance of a substantial profit on subscriptions to the Liberty Loan whether we have an early peace or continued war. If peace comes soon, the bonds are almost certain to advance sharply.

If the war continues and further loans are necessary, a higher rate of interest or an income tax on the next issue will have the same effect.

The confident expectation that the bonds now offered at par will be worth a substantial premium shortly after issuance is, of course, supported by the recorded quotations for United States bonds in the past. Since 1861 they have always gone to a premium on the issue price, and in many cases the issue price was above par.

The 5s due in 1865 sold at 127 in 1863.

The 6s due in 1881 sold at 123⅛ in 1873, which was a panic year.

The 4s due in 1907 sold at 130 in 1889, and another 4 per cent issue due in 1925 sold at 139⅞ in 1901.

Even the 2s due in 1930 sold at 109⅝ in 1902, and the 4s due in 1925 are worth at the time of writing about 106, at which price they pay but little more than 3 per cent.

These prices are not, however, to be taken as a guide to the probable value of the Liberty Loan. The bonds to which they apply all had what is called the "circulation privilege." This means that they could be deposited with the Government as security for the issuance of National bank notes. National banks owning them and using them in this way received the interest on the bonds themselves as well as the interest, less taxation and expenses, on the bank notes issued while they were in circulation.

This privilege, after allowing for the amortization of the premium at which the bonds were salable, has latterly been worth about 1½ per cent per annum, and has increased the market value of the bonds to National banks to that extent. The result has been that most of the United States bonds have come to be owned by the banks. On the 15th of November last their holdings were about $730,000,000 out of a total of $973,000,000 then outstanding. The circulation privilege has made them too high for the private investor. He could do much better by buying other securities. Until three years ago he had no Federal income tax to pay, and when it was finally imposed it was not onerous.

Now, however, things have changed. The income tax promises to create a very strong preference in favor of the Liberty Loan.

This loan has no circulation privilege. It will not be monopolized by the banks. It will be widely distributed. It is the safest investment any one can make. In this country the interest derived from it is non-taxable. It will shortly be recognized as the world's premier security, and as such it will be bought by people of wealth everywhere. It will be surprising if it does not go to a premium very soon. It seems, in fact, almost certain to do so, and when it does the patriotism of those who subscribe for it at par will have its reward in the profit that nearly always accrues to those who are patriotic because they are intelligent.

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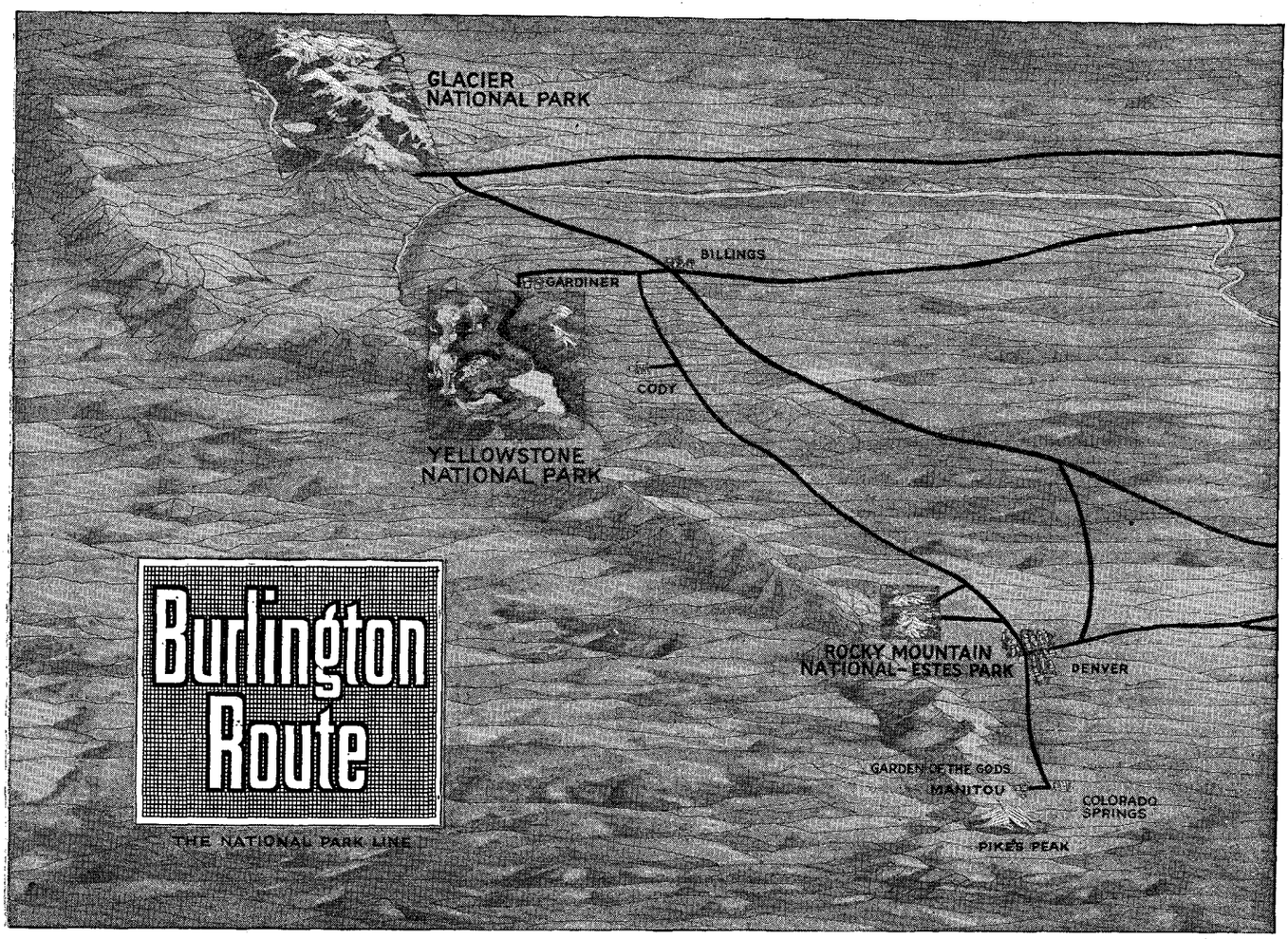

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The Burlington is a prosperous railroad, a highly successful railroad, and its service is the kind you would expect to receive from such an institution. Its roadbed, its sleeping, dining, and lounging cars—every detail of its equipment in fact—is not surpassed by any railroad in the world.

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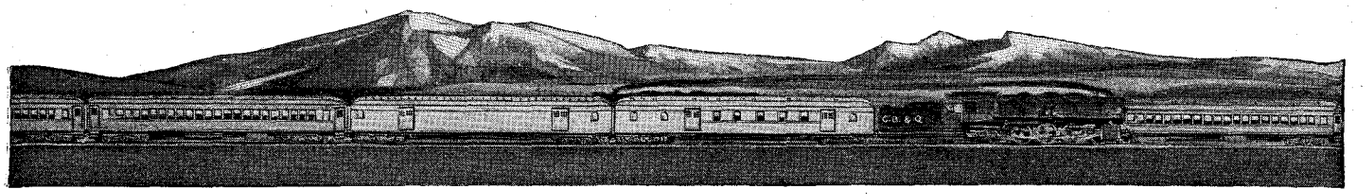
Last year, by special action, the U. S. Government perfected and opened the now famous Cody Road to the public—opened it because the Superintendent of National Parks reported it to be



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